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Editor

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

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Tel: 92-42-6314510 & Fax: 92-42-6314496

Email. iqbalacd@lhr.comsats.net.pk Website: www.allamaiqbal.com

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CONTENTS

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Javid Iqbal
61-B, Main Gulberg
Lahore.

Dr. Zeenath Kausar
Dept. of Political Science,
International Islamic University
Malaysia
Jalan Gombak, 53100
Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia
Tel. 20564000, 03-61866666
Fax. 20564858

Dr. Nadeem Shafiq Malik
13- Dosahra Ground,
Asghar Mall,
Rawalpindi.

William C. Chittick
Department of Comparative Studies
State University of New York at, Stony Brook,
USA

George F. Mclean
Council of Research for Value and Philosophy,
P.O. Box. 261
Coordinal Station
Washington DC 20064-545
U. S. A.

Dr. Mozafar Bakhtyar
Professor in Tehran University
Professor Emeritus at Peking University
China

Siddque Javed
687/3Sect. Z,
LCCHS Housing Society
Lahore Cantt.

Abdur Rehman
C/o Islamic Research Institute
Shah Fasial Masque
Islamabad.

Muhammad Suheyl Umar
Director
Iqbal Academy Pakistan
Lahore.
Tel: 92-42-6314510
Fax: 92-42-6314496
Email. iqbalacd@lhr.comsats.net.pk

DEVIL IN THE TRIANGLE OF RUMI, GOETHE AND IQBAL

Dr. Javid Iqbal

The problem of evil has baffled many thinkers. Evil is not mere darkness that vanishes when light arrives. In other words, evil does not have a negative existence. This darkness has as positive an existence as light. The problem is how to account for evil in a world created by an all-good God? Rumi's answer is that the existence of evil is necessary for the fulfilment of the divine plan. Goethe thinks that evil is the reverse of good. Without evil, it would not be possible to identify good. Iqbal is of the view that the running parallel lines of good and evil meet in infinity. He points out in one of his quatrains:

How may I describe good & evil?
The problem is complex, the tongue falters,
Upon the bough you see flowers and thorns,
Inside it there is neither flower nor thorn.
(*Payām i Mashriq*)

Rumi's long poem titled "Mu'awiyah & Iblis", Goethe's Faust and Iqbal's verses dedicated to Satan can be considered as great diabolical apologies in the world literature. The three poets blend the "classical" with the "romantic", and despite the gaps in the times of their lives, their ideas on the role of evil in the spiritual and material development of man are similar.

In Iqbal's poetic vision, Rumi and Goethe meet in paradise. Goethe reads out to him the tale of the pact between the Doctor and the Devil, and Rumi pays tribute to him in these words:

O portrayer of the inmost soul
Of poetry, whose efforts goal
Is to trap an angel in his net
And to hunt even God.

You from sharp observations know,
How in their shell pearls form & grow,
All this you know, but there is more.
Not all can learn love's secret lore,

Not all can enter its high shrine,
One only knows by grace divine,
That reason is from the Devil,
While love is from Adam.

("Jalal and Goethe"–*Payām i Mashriq*)

When Goethe became acquainted with Rumi's *Mathnavi* through German translations, he found it too complicated and confusing as he initially failed to fathom the depths of Rumi's thought. Iqbal had an identical experience of lack of comprehension and in his early stage of life mistakenly believed that Rumi was a pantheistic Sufi.

In the revealed scriptures, evil is connected with the story of the creation of Adam or, in Rumi's words, when man in the process of evolution, had passed through the stages of plant & animal life and arrived at the stage from where he was to develop into superior forms of life.

When God informed the angels that he was about to place Adam on Earth in His stead, and that Adam would be granted freedom of choice, they expressed apprehensions that Adam would do ill therein. But God admonished them that they knew not what he knew. Since disobedience of Adam by partaking the forbidden fruit was his first act in exercise of freedom of choice, he had to choose between good and that which is reverse of it. Therefore it was necessary to introduce evil by deputing a "tempter" to mislead Adam before he was to exercise the freedom. It is probably in this background that Iqbal is prompted in one of his verses to blame God for conspiring with Satan against man. He wonders suspiciously:

How could he (Satan) have the courage to
refuse on the day of creation?
Who knows whether he is your confidant or mine?

(*Bāl i Jibrīl*)

Goethe's view of evil is Pelagian when he claims that evil is merely the reverse of good. The forces, good and evil, apparently working in opposite directions, in fact work in cooperation in order to carry out the divine plan. The action and reaction of good and evil or the succumbing before temptation and the resulting remorse in the course of conflict between the Devil and man, according to Goethe, brings out the best in man.

Iqbal supplements Goethe when he affirms "evil has an educative value of its own. Virtuous people are usually very stupid". (*Stray Reflections*)

He says:

I asked a sage: "What is life"?
He replied: "It is wine whose bitterness is the best."
I said: "They have put evil in its raw nature."
He answered: "Its good is in this very evil."
(*Payām i Mashriq*)

While the positive existence of evil is acknowledged by Rumi, Goethe and Iqbal, the nature of evil can only be poetically illustrated through a reference to the Devil. Therefore, *Iblis* in Rumi, Mephisto in Goethe and *Shayṭān* in Iqbal represent different aspects of the same "cobweb" personality.

Rumi's Iblis wakes up Mu'āwiyah at dawn reminding him to offer the morning prayers before the time runs out. A dialogue ensues, in the course of which Iblis tries to convince Mu'āwiyah that he adores God. It was the hand of God's bounty that sowed his seed and brought him into being from nothingness. God procured milk during his infancy. God rocked his cradle. Therefore God's wrath is only temporary like a mother's anger. The doors of His grace are not permanently shut on anyone.

"My refusal to bow before Adam", Iblis argues, "did not amount to disobedience of God's command. On the contrary, it resulted from my extreme love of God. Has he not himself commanded 'do not bow before any other except Me?' This forehead which has always bowed only before God cannot bow before anyone else even at His bidding."

Iblis contends, "This was a game between lover and beloved. He commanded me to play and I played the predetermined hand of lover. Thus I did what I was destined to do and was made to accept His wrath. But I still remain His companion, friend and comrade."

Iblis advances the argument that although virtue and vice are opposed to each other, their operation is complementary. He asks: "How can I be held responsible for transforming good into evil. I am not the Creator. The Creator makes man good or bad. I am only expected to hold a mirror through which virtuous and vicious can see their faces and identify themselves." According to Iblis's reasoning evil circulates in every drop of human blood and yet man blames. Iblis for his own frailties.

Rumi's Iblis is equipped only with reason, like a snake who attacks with his head. None can controvert his arguments, and no one can get out of his snare except through divine grace. However Mu'āwiyah is not persuaded by Iblis' articulate apology. He finds it deceitful and consisting of a pack of lies. When Iblis sarcastically claims that man is incapable of distinguishing between truth & falsehood, Rumi steps in and points out that falsehood always agitates the heart whereas truth provides solace and satisfaction.

Eventually Mu'āwiyah overpowers Iblis who confesses that he woke up Mu'āwiyah because had he missed the morning prayers his remorse would have earned him more grace. Iblis remains a liar until the end when he defends his act as based on envy, i.e. as a lover of God he is envious of man.

Rumi's portrayal of Iblis depicts him as a lover of God. But a heartless being is incapable of loving, and here lies his deceit. Therefore when Iblis claims that all envy arises from love, for fear lest another becomes the chosen of the beloved, he is lying. In fact Rumi's Iblis is nothing but reason (*'aql*), the reverse of love (*'ishq*). According to him Adam lapsed because of his stomach and sexual passion whereas Iblis was accursed because of pride and ambition engendered in him by reason. Rumi also shows to us that Iblis not only instigates man to commit sin, he sometimes persuades man to perform a virtuous act in order to deprive him from earning a higher reward.

In Goethe's Faust the role of Mephisto is not that which is usually attributed to the Devil. He represents a spirit of nihilism, negation and contradictions, which is inimical to all life and higher forms of existence. Goethe first takes up the conflict of good and evil on a subjective plane and thereafter at the cosmic level. It is only when Faust rejects all pretensions of knowledge that Mephisto appears at Faust's own craving. The events that follow take the reader through the problems of human innocence, suffering, love, hate, desire, appetite and -sin. It is the unique quality of Goethe's genius that he picked up an ordinary legend and filled it with the experiences of the entire human race. According to Goethe, evil is a stepping-stone to virtue in a mysterious way, and this is conveyed through the words of Mephisto in Faust:

Part of that power, not understood,
Which always wills the Bad,
And always promotes the Good.

The pact that Mephisto made with Faust was to dissuade him from striving in life. He offered Faust all forbidden worldly pleasures that Faust readily accepted but his nature did, not change. He was only temporarily lulled to sleep. According to Goethe it is in the nature of man to move from lower to ever higher plane and from there to still higher planes, and it is only by constant striving that man can carve out his destiny. Faust went on striving Without regard to good and evil as, in the eyes of Goethe, to strive is an act of willing and an act of willing does not fall in the realm of freedom, but to that of nature. Mephisto used all his devices to lure Faust into accepting conditions which were not conducive to the fulfilment of the divine plan. It was not only striving for a virtuous life that ultimately won Faust the divine grace. But it were fear

and hope which elevated him to forgiveness. He was delivered in the end and God's faith in man was vindicated. Mephisto did not succeed in dragging Faust down to nihilistic depths of hell.

Thus restless activity in the nature of Faust did not hinder him in any manner even to wager his soul to the Devil:

To hear the woe of earth & all its joys,
To tussle, struggle, scuffle with its storms,
And not fearful in the crash of shipwreck.

In Goethe's words, God himself has provided an explanation for the creation of the Devil. In the "Prologue in Heaven" He declares:

Of all the spirits that deny,
The Rogue (Devil) is to me least burdensome,
Man's activity too easily run slack,
He loves to sink into unlimited repose
And so I am glad to give him,
A companion like the Devil, who excites,
And works and goads him on to create.

On the other hand, when the Devil confronts God in the "Prologue in Heaven", he complains that Adam is not his match, but is only a "long-legged grasshopper." Mephisto sarcastically affirms:

My Lord! I find things there (on earth),
Still bad as they can be,
Man's misery even to pity moves my nature,
I've scarce the heart to plague the wretched creature.

....

When a corpse approaches, close my house,
It goes with me as with the cat the mouse.

It is interesting to note that Goethe refrained from describing the nature of God. Faust only explains that He is All-embracing and All-preserving and therefore cannot be named. Faust says:

Call it Bliss! Heart! Love! God!,
I have no name thereof, feeling is everything,
The name is sound & smoke, only to obscure celestial fire

When Eckermann asked Goethe about the nature of relationship of the Divine with the Daemonic and the incompatibly of one with the other, he answered:

"Dear boy! What do we know of the idea of the Divine, and what can our narrow conceptions presume to tell of the Supreme Being? If I call him by a hundred names, like a Turk (Muslim), I should yet fall short & have said nothing in comparison to the boundlessness of his attributes."

Iqbal was profoundly influenced by Rumi who is his spiritual guide. On the other hand he was also a great admirer of Goethe. Yet Goethe's spirit, like the Urdu poet Ghalib's, is that of a poet, whereas Iqbal's spirit, following in the footsteps of Rumi, is more of a prophetic nature.

Iqbal is acknowledged as the poet of "Khudi" (Self/Ego). "Khudi" has many dimensions and forms. Therefore, Iqbal's Satan is one of the forms of "Khudi". Since Iqbal believed in the greatness of human ego and was a poet of action, he could not resist being attracted by the dynamic personality of the Devil.

Iqbalian Satan is a gigantic five dimensional figure. His first *dimension is* that no one can surpass his deceit, cunning, remarkable planning and constant striving for the realization of his objective. He is not evil incarnate. His self-confidence, determination, pride and ambition are the qualities that make him a model of self-hood (Khudi).

Like Rumi and Goethe, Iqbal believes in restless & feverish activity for attaining the goal. The goal itself has no significance to Iqbal. It is the striving for the goal, the energy for tireless effort, and the strength to always continue to remain a wayfarer that matters. Life is a chase after a goal, which must go on changing. Iqbal says:

In a spark I crave a star,
And in a star a sun.
My journey has no bourn,
No place of halting, it is death for me to linger.

In the same strain there is another verse:

'When my eye comes to rest on the loveliness of a beauty,
My heart at that moment yearns for a beauty lovelier still.

Iqbal, like Rumi and Goethe, believes that evil is necessary for the development of man. Had there been no evil, there would have been no conflict, no struggle and no striving. Therefore, Iqbal emphasizes:

Waste not your life in a world devoid of taste,
Which contains God but not the Devil.
(*Payām i Mashriq*)

Iqbal does not want man to get involved in the controversy of virtue & vice or good and evil, but must only concentrate on striving for better destinations. Life which leads to paradise is a life of passivity, inactivity and of eternal death.

The *second dimension* of Iqbal's Devil is his cheeky confrontation with God. Addressing God, he claims that he is no less than Him:

You bring stars into being,
I make them revolve,
The motion in your immobile
Universe is as I breathe my spirit into it.
You only put soul in the body
But the warmth of tumultuous activity
In life is from me.
You show the way to eternal rest,
I direct towards feverish activity and constant striving.
Man who is short-sighted, clueless and ignorant,
Takes birth in your lap
Attains maturity only in my care.

The third dimension *of* Iqbal's Devil is that he is the first lover *(of* God's Unity). He unhesitatingly accepted God's wrath and separation by his disobedience. But even in the state of negation he fulfilled the inner will of God. While introducing Iqbal to Satan in *Javīd Nāmah*, the crucified Sufi Manṣūr Ḥallāj says:

Since Satan is the first lover,
Preceding all others,
Adam is not familiar with his secrets.
Tear off the garb of imitation,
So that you may learn the lesson
Of "*Tawīd*" (God's Unity) from him.

The fourth dimension of Satan that fascinated Iqbal is his pride and rivalry with his adversary, man. Here Iqbal follows Rumi by affirming that satanic reason is the basis of the Devil's entire activity. Therefore, Iqbal says:

If reason remains under the command of heart, it is Godly.
If it releases itself, it is Satanic.

Iqbal's Satan mocks at Gabriel's cloistered piety and declares proudly:

In man's pinch of dust my daring spirit
Has breathed ambition,
The Warp and Woof of mind and reason,
Are woven of my sedition.
The deeps of good & evil you only see from land's verge,
Which of us it is, you or I, that dares tempest's scourge?
Ask this of God, when next you stand alone within his sight,
Whose blood is it has painted Man's long history so bright?

In the heart of Almighty like a pricking thorn I live
You only cry forever God, Oh God, Oh God, most high!

Iqbal's Devil like Goethe's, shows his disgust for the weakness of his rival. His Satan's complaint to God in *Javīd Nāmah* sounds very much like that of Mephisto:

O Lord of good & bad! Man's company
And commerce has degraded me. Not once
My bidding dares he to deny; his "self"
He realizes not. And never feels
His dust the thrill of disobedience,
His nature is effeminate
And feeble his resolve, he lacks the strength
To stand a single stroke of mine.
A riper rival I deserve. Reclaim
From me this game of chaff and dust,
For pranks and impish play
Suit not an aged one.
Confront me with a single real man
May I perchance gain bliss in my defeat!

The fifth dimension of Iqbalian Devil is political i.e., how he, on national and international planes, carves out earthly devils in the form of political leaders who through their strategies lead to war, decease, misery and destruction of mankind. In his poem, "Satan's Parliament" (*Armaghan i Hijaz*) Iqbal's Devil prophesises that since he himself is the founder and protector of capitalism, he is not afraid of the communist revolution *of* tomorrow.

But Iqbal's Devil is as miserable as man in this world full of complexities. In one of his quatrains Iqbal says:

From me convey the message to Iblis,
How long he intends to flutter,
Twist and scuffle under its net?
I have never been happy with this world,
Its morning is nothing but a prelude of the evening.

On another occasion Iqbal entreats the Devil for cooperation. If divine help is not forth coming, why not ask the Devil:

Come! Let us cooperate and lead the life of harmony.
Our mutual skills can transform
This wretched planet into a paradise
Under the skies, if we together
Disseminate love and healing,
And banish jealousy, hatred, disease & misery.

To sum up, good without evil amounts to the passivity of paradisal rest. Therefore it is disapproved by the three poets as against the divine plan. Man's destiny lies in constant creative activity. Iqbal is categorical when he asserts:

When act performed is creative,
It's virtuous, even if sinful.

The crux of the message of the three poets is that the creation of Adam is not a "'wasteful effort. It must be clearly understood that under the divine plan man is still in the state of becoming. Rumi says man has taken millions and millions of centuries to evolve, from insect to plant, from plant to animal, and from animal to man. The evolution continues and through man's ceaseless efforts he is bound to cross higher stages of life and presumably go beyond angels. Goethe also lays emphasis on the achievement of higher forms of life by man. Iqbal through the constant strengthening of "ego" expects man to become a co-worker or rather a counsellor of the Divine Being in creating a more perfect universe. He hints that man would perhaps eventually democratize the arbitrary divine system, so much so that if a destiny is to be changed, action would be taken by God in consultation with and according to the will of man.

However, this indeed would be the man of distant tomorrow, the aspiration of the triangular poets, who, with the assistance of the Devil, could go beyond good and evil. But he justifiably cannot be found today, as Rumi in his famous quatrain asserts:

An old man carrying a lamp,
Was seen wandering in the streets.
When asked: "What are you looking for?"
Replied: "I am sick and tired of the beasts,
And look for a real man."
I said: "You can't find him
Our search was in vain."
"This is what I look for" he said,
"That which can't be found.

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THE PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
Aiwan-e-Sadar Road, Karachi 1, Pakistan
Phone : 512891 ; Cable : PAKINSAF

IQBAL'S IMPACT ON CONTEMPORARY UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE ISLAMIC POLITY

Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr

The revival and reform of Islam in the twentieth century, and its emergence as a social movement across the Muslim world in the present world is closely tied to life histories and intellectual contributions of particular individuals. It is they who advanced the formative ideas, spoke to the concerns of various social groups, shaped public debates by selecting the ideas that would be included in them and those that would not, and related individual and social experiences to lasting questions and concerns about freedom, justice, good, evil, and salvation. In short, they interpreted Islam, emphasized dimensions of it, and articulated an ideology on the basis of their faith, one which uses social impulses to make a new discourse possible. It is usually the biographies and ideas of men like Mawlānā Mawdūdī (d. 1979), Ayatollah Khomeini (d. 1989), or Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) that are viewed as essential to historical investigation into contemporary Islamic thought and action, and critical to understanding it. However, it is not possible to fully understand the scope and philosophical underpinnings of the doctrines that undergird Islamic revival and reform without looking at the works of Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938). Although not as politically active Iqbal's ideas have been of great influence on the gamut of Islamic thinkers in the twentieth century, and especially in Asia, where his perspectives on colonialism, Islamic revival, and relations between Muslims and non-Muslims have been most germane. Iqbal's corpus allows us to locate the roots of Islamic revivalism. In specific processes and events, sharpening the focus of the more general explanations that have revolved around the larger forces of industrialization, urbanization, imperialism, or uneven development. To understand the roots, and trajectory of development of such foundational concepts of the current Islamic discourse on power, the state, and perfect polity, it is necessary to contend with Iqbal, and his contribution to the articulation of these ideas.

THE BEGINNING: EDUCATION AND EARLY CAREER

Sir Muhammad Iqbal was born in 1877 in Sialkot in the Indian province of Punjab. He was born shortly after the Great Mutiny of 1857

and grew up at a time when Muslim power was on the decline before the rise of British colonialism. This reality would have a major impact on Iqbal's intellectual formation. In many ways Iqbal would become a link between the Muslim historical past in India, and its future. In the same vein he would become the interpreter of the history, making sense of the turbulent changes through which Muslims were passing, relating their historical experience to the tenets of their faith, and drawing on the faith for solace, hope, and a path to recapturing lost glories. In this, Iqbal's carrier both paralleled and resembled that of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān the founder of the Aligarh educational institution on the one hand, and Mawlānā Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād (d. 1958), on the other. In looking to reform and adaptation of western ideas to restore power to the Muslim community of India, Iqbal's carrier was close that of Sir Sayyid. In seeking to revive the faith, and seek power in its proper practice, Iqbal and Āzād had much in common. It is for this reason that both Islamic modernists and revivalists trace their ideas to Iqbal.

Throughout his life Iqbal grappled with the religious, social, and political implications of the occlusion of Islam in his homeland. His rich literary and philosophical corpus was one of the first and most serious efforts directed at both understanding this development and charting a way for restoring Islam to its due place in the temporal order.

Iqbal received his early education in Sialkot and Lahore in the religious sciences, Arabic, Persian, and English. It was at Lahore's Oriental College (1809-97), where he studied with Sir Arnold Arnold, that he first came in contact with modern thought. In 1899 he received a Master in Philosophy from that college, and began to teach Arabic, compose poetry, and write on social and economic issues. His poetry was in the classical Perseo-Urdu style, but also showed the influence of European literature, especially Words worth and Coleridge. His eclectic education would in later facilitate cross-fertilization of ideas between East and the West in Iqbal's works.

In 1905 he left India to study law at the University of Cambridge, but it was philosophy that soon consumed his intellectual passion. At Trinity College he studied Hegel and Kant and became familiar with the main trends in European philosophy. His interest in Philosophy took him to Heidelberg and Munich in 1907, where he was strongly influenced by the works of Nietzsche. It was there that he received his doctorate in philosophy, writing a dissertation entitled, The Development of Metaphysics in Persia. In 1908 he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in England. A lawyer and a philosopher, he returned to India in that year.

Soon after his return he began teaching philosophy at Lahore's Government College, and also took a keen interest in the unfolding plight

of Indian Muslims under British rule. Iqbal's interpretive reading of Islam took form during India's struggle for independence between the two world wars. This was a period of great uncertainty for Indian Muslims. They had already lost their position of dominance during British rule, and were now anxious about their fate in independent India. The Muslims had never been reconciled to British rule over India, and were, therefore, the natural constituency for the Congress party and its struggle for independence. For many Muslims, however, the prospect of living under Hindu rule was also quite daunting. Their dislike of the British was tempered by their apprehensions about what they were to expect of a "Hindu Raj." In broad brush, there were two Muslim positions during this period.

First, there were those Muslim intellectual and political leaders who supported the Congress party, actively participated in its politics, and encouraged their fellow Muslims to do the same. They were fiercely anti-imperialist, and viewed opposition to the British to be the foremost concern of their community. The political views of many was informed by the legacy of the Great Mutiny of 1857, the sack and razing of Delhi by the British and the abrogation of the Mughal empire in 1858, and the ensuing social dislocation of Muslims. Moreover, these Muslims believed that support for the Congress party was the best option before Muslims; for the struggle for independence would forge a united Indian nation in which Muslims, owing to their contribution, would enjoy prominence. These Muslims accepted the Congress party's claim to be thoroughly secular in outlook, to be above communal divisions, and to be capable and willing to promote and safeguard the interests of India's Muslims both before independence and in the future Indian republic. Many of Muslim India's best and brightest minds— intellectual and religious leaders — followed this path, men like Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād (later India's Minister of Education) or Ẓākir Ḥusain (d. 1969, later India' President), and the bulk of the Indian ulama, who remained in India even after Pakistan was created.

Second, there were those Muslim leaders, exemplified and later led by Muḥammad 'Ali Jinnah, (d. 1948) in the Muslim League, who did not view the struggle against the British to be the paramount concern of the Muslims, and remained apprehensive about living as a minority in a predominantly Hindu India. These Muslim leaders believed that Muslims were best advised to reassess their commitment to the Congress party, and to focus on safe-guarding and furthering their communal interests at a time of flux and before an uncertain future.

More to the point, Jinnah did not view the Congress party and the independence movement as impartial and above communal affiliations. Rather, he argued that the Congress party was Hindu at its core, and as

such would not truly represent or safe-guard Muslim interests. Jinnah, therefore, demanded special constitutional rights and privileges to protect Muslim interests in independent India.

To understand Iqbal's views on politics, and the role of Islam in it is imperative to understand the context in which those ideas took shape, and why and in what capacity did Indian Muslims react positively to those ideas. Before leaving for Europe Iqbal had been a liberal nationalist, sympathetic to the Indian National congress party. He was now communalist in his outlook, supporting Muslim separatism and its chief advocate, the All-India Muslim League. Iqbal was not, however, an active politician, and for this reason, the British saw no danger in his politics which was always subsumed in his more potent philosophical message; he was knighted in 1922, and he never renounced that title.

Not directly acting in the communalist debate did not, however, mean that Iqbal was completely removed from politics. In 1926, Iqbal was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council, and grew closer to the All-India Muslim League. He showed more and more support for a separate Muslim homeland in lieu of submitting to Hindu rule which was to follow independence. In fact they very idea of a separate Muslim homeland; consisting of the Muslim majority provinces in Northwest India, was first proposed by Iqbal in 1930. Still, he never ceased to be first and foremost an intellectual force, and it is his impact on Muslim thought more than his political leanings that have secured his place in Muslim Cultural life.

RELIGIOUS REFORM AND RECONSTRUCTION OF ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Iqbal is unique among contemporary Muslim thinkers and philosophers in utilizing theology, mysticism, philosophy —of the East along with that of the Sets— and the potent emotional appeal and nuanced style of Perseo-Urdu Poetry to understand and explain the destiny of Man, and then to relate that vision to his social life and polity. It is Iqbal's ability to traverse the expanse which separates philosophy from socio-cultural concerns that has made him a philosopher and a cultural hero, as well as the fountainhead of contemporary Islamic political thought.

Iqbal argued that it is in the realization of their destiny that the spiritual salvation and political emancipation of Muslims can be realized. Islam holds the key to the realization of that destiny, for faith is central to a Muslim's life. It is religion that defines human existence, and its is through religion that man may rise to greater heights. That rise is predicated on the rediscovery of the true faith, and that rediscovery is in turn tied to the reconstruction of the Islamic community.

Much like other Islamic modernists, Iqbal found the ideal polity in the early history of Islam. It was in the Muhammadan community that Muslims had reached the pinnacle of their spiritual and worldly power-the full realization of human destiny. It was that vision of the past that guided his prescriptions for the future. He became convinced that man was able to realize the full potential of his destiny only in the context of the revival of Islam, in an order wherein the perfection of the soul would be reflected in the excellence of social relations. Yet, Iqbal's formulation was not a jejune call to atavism. For, while he idealized early Islamic history, Iqbal also incorporated modern values and precepts into that ideal, such that the Muhammadan community and the fundamental tenets of the Muslim faith embodied all that he believed to be food in the modern West. The impact of the West on Iqbal was deep-seated and is clearly evident in the fabric of his world view. His criticisms of many aspects of the Western civilization, especially its secularism in some of his works such as *Payām i Mashriq*, only thinly guise his extensive borrowing form Western thought.

Idealization of Islam went hand-i-hand with advocating religious reform. Iqbal argued that, Islam can serve man only if it was reformed and reinterpreted in the eh image of its Muhammadan ideal-and Iqbal's understanding of the West-while using the tools of philosophical analysis and mystical wisdom. Iqbal did not view this exercise as innovation or reformations, but rediscovery and reconstruction of Islam. He believed that the inner truth of Islam had over the centuries been hidden by obscurantist practices and cultural accretions promoted by Sufi masters (*mashāyikh*), religious divines (*'ulama*), and wayward sultans and monarchs. It was they who had produced a view of Islam that had led the faithful astray, sapped that religion of its power, ending its glorious reign. To reverse their fall from power and to realize their destiny, Muslims must find access to the truth of their religion. They must become aware of the fact that Islam, as it stood before them, was impure; only then would they look beyond popular impressions of Islam-passionate and devotional attachments to the religion to find its hidden truth. Echoes of these arguments can be found in the works of the gamut of Muslim thinkers in later years, from Sayyid Abu 'l-A'lā Mawdūdī to Fazlur Raḥmān, both of Pakistan, or 'Ali Sharī'atī of Iran. Through them in turn Iqbal's ideas traveled farther afield, to the Arab World and Southeast Asia, becoming the calling cards of revivalist thinking. Today, new areas are being touched by Iqbal. He is one the central intellectual poles around which debates about religion and identity in central Asia are taking shape.

Iqbal's early works, *Asrār i Khudī* and *Rumūz i Bekhudī*, encouraged Muslims to follow his prescriptions by harping on the themes of love and

freedom; not romantic love or political freedom per s,, but love of the truth and freedom from that view of Islam which had been vouchsafed through cultural transmission. Still his most complex philosophical and political views were argued emotionally in his poetry. He caught the attention of Muslims using the very language and sensibility which he believed they had to abandon if they were to aspire to greater heights. Iqbal is just as towering a figure in Persian and Urdu poetry as he is in contemporary Islamic philosophy.

Iqbal rejected fatalism (*taqdīr*). He did not view history as the arena for the Divine will to unfold in, as Muslims generally do, but for humans to realize their potential. He encouraged Muslims to take charge of their own lives and destinies, to shape history rather than serve as pawns in it. To him history was not sacred and hence was easily changeable. This was a conception which showed the influence of the Kantian notion of "Divine aloofness." It was at odds with the time-honored Ash'arite tradition in Islamic theology and philosophy, which teaches that history is the manifestation of the Divine will and is therefore sacred; man can not hope to understand the Divine wisdom and hence should not reject the writ of history, nor seek to interfere with it. In encouraging Muslims to redirect history and to assume responsibility for its unfolding through a rational interpretation of their faith, Iqbal also echoed the beliefs of Mu'tazalite philosophers who had centuries earlier taken the Ash'arite to task but had failed to shape the subsequent development of Islamic thought.

Iqbal understood that there could be no systematic rationalization of Islam unless there was a single definition of a Muslim. As a result he sought to produce such a definition in the hope of underlining the fundamental unity which has bound the various sects, denominations, and schools of thought which comprise the Islamic faith. As the eloquent poetry of *Zubūr i 'Ajam* shows he was less concerned with the various expressions of Islam and more with the basic tenets of the faith, the lowest common denominator among Muslims. It was also to this end that he idealized early Islamic history, the period when there were no divisions in the he body of the faith. His vision of Islam was per force a simple and pristine one. This notion was of great importance and consequence to Muslim politics of India at the time, and as such made Iqbal a central intellectual figure in the drama of Muslim-Hindu stand-off of the period. For, it was the argument of the British and the Indian National Congress that Muslims of India were not one community, and were so diverse that no one party or leader could claim to speak for them, or to characterize as one people with one aim. The All-India Muslim League and its leader Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnah rejected this notion arguing that Muslims were one people with one political agenda, and that

the League and Jinnah were its "Sole Spokesman". Iqbal's discourse was central to this debate. Clearly his poetry and philosophical expositions supported the League's position. Even if at the philosophical, cultural, and theological level such a unity was not easily attainable, at the political level through Iqbal and later Jinnah it became a palpable reality. As every shop-keeper in Punjab recited Iqbal's poetry, he unwittingly grew closer to this singular definition of the Muslim community, especially as a political entity. Hence, the Islamic polity came to approximate Iqbal's ideal far more than an all-encompassing ummah.

THE PERFECT MAN AND THE PERFECT SOCIETY

Iqbal's principal aim in reformation and rationalization of the Islamic faith was to recreate the ideal Muhammadan society-the perfect order in which man would attain his highest ideals. This was a task which began with the perfection of man-best exemplified in the example of Prophet Muhammad himself and culminated in the creation of the ideal social order, hence for Iqbal revival of faith at the individual level was ineluctably tied to the creation of the perfect Islamic would once again rise in India only pursuant to a revival of Islam. This idea was later manifested in the ideology of such Islamic groups as the Jamā'at i Islāmī, who sought to achieve exactly that revival, and then through the creation of perfect Islamic societies in the form of Jamā'ats (parties/societies).

Iqbal's perspective, however, was not so much political, although it had great impact on Muslim politics, but was philosophical. He combined the Nietzschean concept of "Superman" with the Sufi doctrine of Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil*), devising an all-encompassing view of human development and social change. He saw God as the perfect ego-but an ego nevertheless, more near and tangible than God of old. As outlined in the *Javīd Nāmah*, God is the supreme ideal in which Iqbal's scheme of human development would culminate. This conception of the Divine closely resembles the Sufi notion of *al-insān al-kāmil*, and no doubt parallels Nietzsche's Superman.

In describing his views Iqbal used the Sufi saint, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's (1207-73) doctrine of ascent of man. Rūmī had explained the Sufi experience in terms of an alchemical process which would transform the base metal of the human soul into the gold of Divine perfection. Iqbal echoed Rūmī in the *Bāl-i Jibrīl*, where he argued that life continues despite death, for the soul is immortal and life continues as death and later as resurrection. Through this death and becoming human life would perfect. Since the rise of man was closely tied to the reconstruction of the temporal order, Iqbal relied on Rūmī to sanction the passing of the old Muslim order to pave the was for the rise of a new and triumphant one. Human and social development as such will continue until they attain the state of perfection as understood by Sufis and pondered upon by

Nietzsche. Iqbal defined that perfection as a state where love and science—a symbolizing essence of East and the West—happily occupy the same intellectual space.

With every birth man can attain a higher spiritual state in a more perfect society, for man has the essence (*jawhar*) which can be transformed into perfection. That process can only occur through the intermediary of true of Islam, for Islam has the blue-print. Just as meditation and asceticism would prepare the soul of the Sufi for spiritual ascent, activism—abandoning fatalism in favor of an engaged approach to individual and social life—would perform the same function in Iqbal's scheme. That activism would culminate in the "Islamic state," which Iqbal equated with the Sufi conception of spiritual bliss.

The imprint of Sufism on Iqbal here is unmistakable and quite interesting. For he generally rejected Sufism, arguing that it had always been concerned only with the spiritual salvation of the individual, whereas he believed individual salvation could not be divorced from the reconstruction of the temporal order. Yet, criticism of Sufism was not tantamount to rejecting those of its teachings and beliefs that he had found quite persuasive. The titles of Iqbal's various divans attest to the influence of Sufi imagery and symbolisms on his thought.

In many ways Iqbal's vision was a modernization of Sufism using the tools of Western philosophy. His innovation lay in introducing social development, and hence the emergence of the ideal Islamic political order, as a necessary condition for attainment of perfection and spiritual salvation. It is this aspect of his thought that was of relevance to Muslim political activism in India at the twilight of the Raj, and later influenced many revivalist thinkers who have since looked to politics as the medium for effecting individual spiritual salvation.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

The reform of Islam, and the revival of the faith at the individual and political level—what Iqbal called *'umrāniyat-i Islām*—was predicated on devising a satisfactory system of education that would both inculcate true Islam in the minds of Muslims, and equip them with the intellectual tools that they would need in developing and managing their societies and polities. Iqbal thought about education extensively. What he had in mind was a combination of excellence in theological and shari'ah studies and modern scientific and philosophical thinking. others, such as the Nadwatu 'l-'Ulama in Lucknow or the Aligarh University too had experimented with such approaches, but Iqbal was not satisfied with their results. They either failed to satisfactorily incorporate modern subjects, or were too had experimented with such approaches, but Iqbal was not satisfied with their results. They either failed to satisfactorily incorporate

modern subjects, or were too removed from Islamic studies to train genuine Muslims.

What Iqbal had in mind is perhaps best reflected in his involvement in the Dār al-Islām project. This project was based on a *waqf* in Punjab. Iqbal hoped to turn it into a model educational institution. In the end it became the nucleus for the Jamā'at i Islāmī, but before Mawlānā Mawdūdī left his mark upon it, Iqbal tried hard to shape it in the mold that he saw necessary for the future of Muslims. How he went about this tells much about his vision.

Since he began to advocate a Muslim homeland in northern India Iqbal had favored that the Muslims would found a political organization. Still, he saw education as a more important instrument for their empowerment. He had discussed it with a number of his friends, including Ẓafar al-Ḥasan (d. 1951) of Aligarh University, a Kantian philosopher of renown who had been a proponent of the two-nation theory, and had proposed a Muslim political organization to be named Shabbānu 'l-Muslimīn (Muslims Youth).

Iqbal was not organizationally minded and regarded education as the most effective means of bringing about a Muslim reawakening. He favored establishing a model dār al-'ulūm (seminary) in Punjab to lay the foundation for a new Islamic world view, which would in turn facilitate the creation of a Muslim national homeland. Iqbal's aim was evident in a letter that he wrote to the rector of al-Azhar in Cairo, Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, requesting him to send a director for the intended dār al-'ulūm. In that letter Iqbal asked the Egyptian scholar for a man who was not only well versed in the religious sciences, but also in English, the natural sciences, economics and politics. Al-Marāghī answered that he could think of no suitable candidate. Iqbal was disappointed, and later gave up on that project.

However several issues here are of importance. First, that Iqbal viewed education as the fulcrum of both reform and revival of Islam, and the creation of its worldly order. This emphasis on the foundational role of education in Islamic revival, later on found reflection in the works of a number of the advocates of the Islamic state, notably, among them, Mawlānā Mawdūdī who viewed education as inevitably ties to Islamic revolution and the Islamic state.

Second, the definition that Iqbal had in mind for a rector of his project is also telling. Iqbal saw the proper educational system to be a balance between traditional Islamic sciences and western subjects and languages. he did not stipulate an modernist vision, but facility to study, interpret, and apply Western thought in tandem with traditional religious sciences. Marāghī's response to Iqbal suggested that perhaps Iqbal's definition

was ahead of its time, there had to have been occasion to train such multi-faceted individuals somewhere before they could be called on to lead a new institution. In effect, Iqbal was looking for the very product that his institution was to produce; if that product was already extant, then why build a new institution to satisfy that lacunae. It was this realization that led Iqbal to give up. It is also likely that the pace of events at the time was forcing Muslims to look for political solutions and to postpone more cumbersome educational undertakings to some future date.

Finally, that Iqbal wrote to Marāghī and the al-Azhar rather than the Deoband, Farangi Mahal, or Nadwatu 'l-'Ulama in India is telling in several regards. It is possible that since many Indian ulama supported the Congress and did not look favorably upon Muslim separatism that Iqbal saw no point in contacting them. It is also possible that Iqbal viewed the ulama with disdain. Still, he did write to an 'ālim in Egypt.

In writing to Marāghī Iqbal reinforced a tendency which will blossom later in South Asia that Islamic authenticity must per force be associated with the Arab center of Islam. Although, at that time, and in many ways since, Islam in Asia has had for more intellectual and cultural vitality, still it has become a necessity to associate revival and reform with the Arab heartlands. This attests to revivalism's desire to recapture the authenticity of early Islamic life of the prophetic era and that which followed it immediately. Emphasis on origins thus necessitates hearkening to Arabism.

The appeal to Al-Azhar also had a pan-Islamist dimension, in that Iqbal saw affinity with Arab Muslims, and viewed Cairo as an intellectual and cultural pole for Indian Muslims to relate to, and receive support from.

Although Iqbal's ideas on education never found an institutional embodiment, still, his emphasis on education has become a central feature of the Muslim discourse on the revival and reform of the faith.

IQBAL AND THE SHAPING OF PAKISTAN'S POLITICS

Iqbal was one of the first advocates of Muslim separatism in India. He was not a politician, and was not interested in participating in the organizational and activist struggle for Muslim autonomy and independence. Still, in many ways he laid the foundation of Pakistan, at the intellectual and cultural level. It for this reason that he occupies such a central place in Pakistan today.

Liah Greenfeld writes that, the architects of nationalism have generally been intellectuals. The future nations rewards the intellectuals for their contribution by according to them a central role in the new

sociopolitical order-turning them into an "aristocracy" that will enjoy "high social status for generations to come."

Iqbal is without doubt the most popular poet of Pakistan, and is viewed by Pakistanis of all hues as an infallible and omniscient philosopher and sage. His name bestows legitimacy on all ideas and programs which are associated with him. He has gained and almost prophetic reputation in Pakistan, far exceeding the claims of the modest poet and thinker of Lahore, His ideas and sayings are invoked to legitimate various policies, sanctify sundry views and decisions, and silence opposition and criticism. In short, for Pakistanis Iqbal became a figure larger than life, a repository of great wisdom and charisma, for people all across the political spectrum from Left to religious right.

This status owes to the central role which Iqbal, as an intellectual, has played in articulating Muslim aspirations, and relating them to the creation of a homeland. After Iqbal's corpus was always concerned with relating revival of Islam at the personal level to the emergence of an Islamic order. Pakistan made sense to many of its advocates in the context of Iqbal's ideas, and also through his masterful poetry, which weaved Islamic symbols with political ideals.

As mentioned above many claim Iqbal as the fountainhead of their social, religious, intellectual, and political programs. This is perhaps expected when one figure so dominates the national life. Still, there are those who can with some legitimacy claim Iqbal, and they are not necessarily on the same sides in religious and/or political debates.

Islamic parties with some justification claim to be heirs to Iqbal's intellectual tradition. After all, the notion of revival and reform of Islam, its relation to creation of a just Islamic order, reform of Sufism, and the cultural accretions that have come to shape the cultural dimensions of Islam are all part of the Islamic parties' program. Those who follow these parties relate to Iqbal, and then through him to these parties in the context of these dimensions of Iqbal's corpus.

There are also those in Pakistan who have been inspired by Iqbal's attention to the importance of modern ideas, and the need to create a linkage between them and Islam. Thinkers from Khalīfa 'Abdul Ḥakīm to Fazlur Raḥmān found legitimacy for their enterprise in Iqbal's modernism.

Still, others, those interested in the revival of the Islamic tradition of philosophical inquiry, find support in Iqbal, who after all, wrote about metaphysics in Persia, and understood *'irfān* and analyzed Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.

The impact of Iqbal has been multi-directional, too diffuse in this sense to be discrete or tied to any one ideology or group. More important, is perhaps the fact that Iqbal has continued to legitimate religio-political inquiry. His mark on Pakistan is not so much in the specifics of his ideas, but in the foundational principle that stipulates: all revival of Islam at the personal level is predicated upon the creation of an Islamic worldly order. Regardless of what else they disagree on, the sundry of intellectual, religious, and political debaters in Pakistan are concerned with this issue, and most agree on its centrality to their respective enterprises.

CONCLUSION

Iqbal was without doubt a most creative and original thinker, one who sought to bring together many strains of Islamic life and thought together, to reform the Muslim faith, imbue it with modern precepts, and to reconstruct it anew. He related Islamic thought to Western philosophy, and linked spiritual salvation to intellectual change and social development. As a poet of exceptional abilities he conveyed these ideas to his audience most forcefully. Although there is no distinct school of thought associated with Iqbal, there is no doubt that many across the spectrum of Islamic thought have been swayed by the wisdom of his agenda and the logic of his method, and have sought to emulate him in reviving their faith and reforming their societies.

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IQBAL ON DEMOCRACY: ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION?

Dr. Zeenath Kausar

Ever since the colonization of the Muslim lands and the spread of Western concepts and ideologies in the Muslim world, Muslim thinkers seemed to have preoccupied in exploring and analyzing the alien ideologies from Islamic perspective. Obviously, the purpose behind this has been to provide the correct Islamic stance to the people on several issues related to the Western concepts and ideologies. Some important ideologies that have been assessed and are still under critical assessment by Muslim thinkers include nationalism, democracy and feminism. A survey of the Muslim reflections on these ideologies needs a full-fledge study that is beyond this paper.

Here, in this paper, an attempt is made to make an exploration of the views of the world-known poet-philosopher of Islam, Mohammad Iqbal on democracy. For this a comprehensive study of his writings both in the form of prose and poetry is explored and analyzed. Besides this, some secondary sources are also referred to and utilized. It is contended in the paper, that although Iqbal accepted some of the principles of democracy but he has rejected the secular and material orientation of the philosophy of democracy. It is argued that Iqbal's acceptance of some principles of democracy and his rejection of some aspects of democracy is based on his broad perception of Islamic fundamentals and concepts. It implies that Iqbal accepted only those principles of democracy which he deems compatible with Islam but at the same time he rejected the secular foundation of the same principles as well as all those principles and core concepts of democracy which he thinks incompatible with Islamic philosophy of life and Islamic polity. It is therefore concluded in the paper that it is as irrational to accept any of the Western concept or ideology without any critical scrutiny as it is illogical to reject any Western concept and ideology only because it is originated in the West. Hence, Iqbal's stance on democracy seems to be a commendable model for Muslim scholars to decide about the Islamic position on any Western concept and ideology. However, it is also emphasized that it is more essential and urgent for Muslim thinkers to concentrate and promote their own Islamic terms and terminologies and to devote their intellectual

potentials on setting proper directions to the destination of Islamic Ummah-revitalization of Islamic civilization. Engagement in the debates on the compatibility and incompatibility of Islam with every concept and ideology which Western modernity and postmodernism are presenting before the world should be only a side business not the main preoccupation of thinkers and leaders of the Muslim Ummah.

It is important to clarify at the very out set that the views of Iqbal on democracy cannot be studied in isolation with his broad perception of Islam, his philosophy of (*Khudi*) selfhood, his concepts of (*mard i mu'min*) man of belief or (*insan i kamil*) perfect man and his views on *ijm«'* and *ijtih«d*. Hence, Iqbal's views on democracy shall be studied and assessed in context with the above concepts. The paper comprises three parts. In the first part, Iqbal's arguments and contentions for the acceptance of democracy shall be presented and analyzed. Whereas, in the second part, Iqbal's arguments for the rejection of some democratic principles shall be highlighted. This shall be followed by a conclusion.

IQBAL: ACCEPTANCE OF SOME DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

Some of the important principles of democracy that are appreciated by Iqbal include 'freedom', 'equality' and 'election'. He finds these principles compatible with Islam to a certain extent. For instance, he points out that in Islam, although the interest of an individual is subordinated to the community but the individual is given sufficient liberty which is necessary for the development of his personality. He contends that the Western theory of democracy also protects the interest of the community while providing a conducive environment to individuals for their own development in the same way as Islam does. He writes.

The best form of government for such a community would be democracy, the idea of which is to let man develop all the possibilities of his nature by allowing him as much freedom as possible.[1]

Iqbal illustrates his contention by pointing out that the Caliph of Islam is subject to the same laws like all others in the given state. He is supposed to be elected by the people and should be deposed by the people "if he goes contrary to the law".[2] Hence, Iqbal asserts: "Democracy, then, is the most important aspect of Islam, regarded as a political ideal".[3] But at the same time, he points out that this ideal of freedom lasted in the Muslim world only for thirty years and later "disappeared with its political expansion".[4]

At some other place, Iqbal traced some historical facts to show how the principles of freedom, equality, election and deposition of rulers are operated in early Muslim history. Once some one asked the Prophet Mohammad ﷺ whether he would get any position after the Prophet, if he embraced Islam? The Prophet ﷺ said that it was not

in his disposition to do it. Then, Iqbal pointed out how Abë Bakr was selected as the first Caliph and what he said to the people: "...Obey me as I obey the Lord and his Prophet, where in I disobey, obey me not."[5] Thus Iqbal highlighted some important historical facts to show that "the idea of universal agreement is, in fact the fundamental principle of Muslim constitutional theory."[6] All this shows the "freedom" and equality that embodied in Islam. He also quoted the Prophet ﷺ who is reported to have said: "I am a man like you; like you my forgiveness also depends on the mercy of "God". He also discussed the classical theory of Caliphate, particularly the theory presented by al-M«wardâ. Through out this discussion, he emphasized that "if the Caliph does not rule according to the law of Islam, or suffers from physical or mental infirmity, the Caliph is forfeited."[7] Further he writes:

The origin of state then, according to Al- M«wardâ, is not force, but free consent of individual who unite to form a brotherhood, based upon legal equality, in order that each member of the brotherhood may work out the potentialities of his individuality under the law of Islam. Government, with him, is an artificial arrangement, and is divine only in the sense that the law of Islam-believed to have been revealed-demands peace and security.[8]

Iqbal also discussed how all the officials are appointed or elected in the Caliphate and they are removed by the concerned authorities or people, as explained by al-M«wardâ. After having discussed all this, he remarked: "It is clear that the fundamental principle laid down in the Qur'an is the principle of election; the details or rather the translation of this principle into a workable scheme of Government is left to be determined by other considerations."[9] Iqbal then pointed out that later the principle of election did not develop on democratic lines for two reasons. Firstly, the idea of election did not suit the Persians and the Mongols. Secondly, the Muslims during this period were preoccupied with political expansion.[10]

From the above views of Iqbal, many scholars including Maïharuddân contends that "Iqbal stresses the elective principle as the basis of Islamic democracy. Besides, he believes in the supremacy of the law and the equality of all Muslims."[11]

In fact, according to Iqbal, it is Islam which has imported to the people their natural rights, equality, freedom and justice. He writes:

Liberty took its birth from its gracious message,
This sweet wine dripped from its grapes!
It was impatient of invidious distinctions.
Equality was implicit in its being!
The modern age, kindled a hundred lamps, has opened its eyes in its lap.[12]

The above words of Iqbal throw abundance of light on the fact that the modern Western discourse on liberty and equality can be traced back to Islam, particularly from the time of the Prophet Mohammed ﷺ and the period of Khulaf«-i-R«shidën. It was during this period that the real meaning of liberty and equality was translated into practice. In other words, this principle of democracy-liberty and equality are not new to Islam at all. In fact, it is Islam which has presented these concepts to the world to liberate man from all sorts of man-centred authoritarianism and dominations. It clearly implies that Islam is totally against hereditary monarchies, dynasties, empires, military dictatorships and self-imposed rule over the people.[13] But, after the period of Khulaf«-i-R«shidën (period of Four Rightly Guided Caliphate), the elective principle of Islamic polity was gradually relegated to background. Therefore, it is generally argued that one of the reasons of the decline of the Islamic Ummah can be traced back to the time of the Muslim history when the concept of Shëra (consultation) is set aside and instead the elements of 'force' or 'heredity' were practically incorporated in the Muslim political history.[14] Hence, it is important to differentiate between the real Islamic political system and the Muslim political practices after the Rightly Guided Caliphate. It seems that there is a need of making the same kind of differentiation between Western theories on liberty and equality and the Western practices, particularly, British and French colonialism. For instance, a study of at least one direct original contributor to the theory of democracy, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, shows that there is a big difference between how Rousseau defined 'liberty'[15] and how the British and the French colonized many countries and deprived people all kinds of freedom and liberty. It may be argued that Rousseau advocated direct democracy and presently Western states are following representative democracy and British and the French colonization have nothing to do with democracy. But it is not the question of form, direct or indirect democracy but the latent meaning of civil liberty as defined by Rousseau-obedience to the law prescribed by oneself is liberty. Was the British colonization of Indian subcontinent based on this concept of liberty? Did the British colonize India after taking the 'general will' of the Indians? Basically, is colonization based on the concepts of 'liberty' and equality? Colonization was justified by the West as 'White man's burden' of civilizing the uncivilized! Does colonizing mean civilizing? If not, then, in no way can colonization be justified. But Iqbal observes the following:

Democracy has been the great mission of England in modern times, and English statesmen have boldly carried this principle to countries which have been, for centuries, growing under the most atrocious forms of despotism….England, in fact, is doing one of our

own great duties, which unfavourable circumstances did not permit us to perform.[16]

As far as Iqbal appreciates liberty, equality and the elective principle in democracy, it is understandable. But to talk about England as though it took the mission of democracy particularly at a time when it was in full swing of its colonization net-work with its imperialistic designs is questionable. Iqbal who lived during the British colonization of India was quite aware of British imperialism and its double standard policy for 'liberty' and 'equality' towards itself and its colonized people. If democracy means to give real freedom and liberty to all the people, to let people enjoy all the human rights based on their traditions, to respect all cultures and civilization all over the world and to allow them to rise and flourish, then, it is very hard to say the true fact, that not only Britain, the whole of the West which boasts about democracy, does not follow it sincerely. Whether it is the question of human rights or the issue of exporting democracy, the West has never followed it as a mission for its own sake but only for its own self interest of promoting imperialistic agenda. This attitude of double standard of the West is admitted by the Western scholars themselves.

Huntington observes:[17]

> Non-Westerners also do not hesitate to point to the gaps between Western principle and Western action. Hypocrisy, double standards, and "but nots" are the price of universalist pretensions. Democracy is promoted but not if it brings fundamentalists to power…

Unlike what Iqbal had said, England, neither took the mission of democracy during its period of colonization nor it the West as a whole ever took up democratization as a mission for its own sake. Nevertheless, it is no doubt the mission of the Islamic Ummah to liberate people from absolutism and despotism of a single man or a group of people, but this requires the promotion of popular 'vicegerency' not popular sovereignty which is the central part of secular democracy.

Iqbal's views on the growth of the republican spirit, the abolition of Khilafah in Turkey, the importance of *ijtih«d* and *ijm«'* are also very much relevant to comprehend his stance for democracy. According to Iqbal, the abolition of Khilafah in Turkey is based on *ijtih«d.* He contended that the Turks exercised *ijtih«d* to settle the first question of the Khilafah: 'Should the Caliphate be vested in a single person?' He pointed out that the *ijtih«d* of the Turks that the Caliphate or Imamate can be vested in a body of persons or an elected Assembly is "perfectly sound". He asserted: "The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces

that are set free in the world of Islam."[18] As for ijm«', according to Iqbal, the modern legislative assemblies bear the characteristics of *ijm«'*: He writes:[19]

> "....the transfer of power of ijtih«d from individual representatives of schools to a Muslim legislative Assembly, which, in view of the growth of opposing sects, is the only possible form *ijm«'* can take in modern times.

Iqbal strongly believed in collective '*ijtih«d*'. He argued that in the contemporary times, the right of *ijtih«d* should not be concentrated only in the hands of individual scholars and experts of the Qur'an and Sunnah alone. Along with the experts of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, it seemed essential to seek the opinions of experts in physical and social sciences on the given issue as the case may be. Hence according to Iqbal, legislative assemblies constituted by experts of various disciplines including the experts ofthe Qur'an and the Sunnah and UÄël al Fiqh can play an important role in exercising collective ijtihad.[20]

However, later Iqbal realized some practical problems that might arise in the legislative assemblies where Muslims are in minority like British India. He proposed the formation of an assembly of Ulema who should be independent of the legislature. "The idea" of the assembly, according to Iqbal, "is to protect, expand, and, if necessary, to reinterpret the law of Islam in the light of modern conditions, while keeping close to the spirit embodied in its fundamental principles."[21] For this reason, many scholars including MëÁammad Kh«lid Mas'ëd contend that "the significance of Iqbal's contribution in this discussion thus lies in his re-construction of *ijtih«d* as a collective effort in the form if *ijm«'*, rather than an individual attempt."[22]

Here, Iqbal's contention that the abolition of Khilafah in Turkey and its replacement with the republican form of government is based on *ijtih«d*, needs critical assessment. There is no doubt that the Khilafah in Turkey remained only in namesake since the whole institution of Khilafah was distorted and degenerated. It can also not be disputed that Islamic political system is based on consent and elective principle. But was it not clear to Iqbal that Mustafa Kamal Ataturk was not interested in restoring Islamic political system, rather he aimed and established a thoroughly secular republic based on the Western model? If Kamal Ataturk had abolished the distorted and torn out Caliphate in 1924 in order to establish the genuine Caliphate based on Shëra with the supremacy of Sharâ'ah, this would have been welcomed by the Muslim world whole heartedly. But, history bears witness to the fact that all the attempts of Ataturk were manoeuvred on Western model of modernization. But, it does not however mean that Iqbal accepted secularism and secular foundation of democracy

which shall be soon discussed later in the paper. Perhaps to Iqbal, the abolition of the distorted caliphate and the formation of a republican government is Ijitihad, not of course the formation of Western styled secular republic which is repugnant to Islam.

However, an important point can be raised here as a corollary of this discussion on *shëra, 'ijtih«d*, and *ijma' and* Iqbal's assertion on the consultative and elective principles of democracy that they are based on the Qur'anic demand "rule by mutual consultation", (*amruhum Shëra bainahum*)[23] Even the Prophet was commanded to take counsel with the companions in all public matters. Here, the question arises as to who should be consulted by whom? It should be remembered that when the Prophet ﷺ was asked by the companions about the decision that is mentioned in the Qur'anic verse (3:159) he replied that it means "taking the counsel of those who are known for their good opinions and then following it."[24] It is also reported by Abë Huraira that "the Prophet practiced *Shëra* with his companions more frequently than anyone else he had seen".[25] The same tradition of consultation (*Shëra*) was followed by all the first four Rightly Guided Caliphs. According to Ibn Taimiyyah (*Shëra*) consultation is obligatory for Muslim authorities (*ulu 'l-amr*) where no explicit injunction from the Qur'anic revelation is available.[26]

According to the historical practice, it is important to note that not only the Caliphs ruled with consultation but even they were appointed on the basis of the consultative method. According to the jurists including Ibn Taimiyyah and al-B«qil«nâ, the Imam can only be appointed through the choice of the people, (*al-ikhtiy«r*) which implies that "the Imam holds his office because of a contract drawn by the wise (*ahl al-Áall wa al-'aqd*).[27] It is agreed by all the scholars including Fathi Osman who asserted that "after the death of the Prophet (11 A. H. /632 C.E) the first four caliphs held their offices as a result of free election."[28] This public agreement which offered the caliph his power is known as *bai'ah* (from the root *bai'ah*, meaning "to sell"). The Qur'anic principle of *Shëra* (counsel) inspired this unique historical experiment."[29] According to the historical facts, this *bai'ah* was given firstly by the pious distinguished and leading persons of the community. This *bai'ah* was followed by the *bai'ah* of the masses which the caliph obtained in the mosque. According to some historians the *bai'ah* given by the distinguished and the leading persons is a "special *bai'ah*." Whereas, these distinguished and leading persons who give their special *bai'ah*, are known in the juristic literature as (*ahl al-Áall wa al-'aqd*).[30] Later, by the time of the Ummayyad dynasty itself, the term and the procedure of "*ahl al-Áall wa al-'aqd*" survived only in the juristic literature because the elective principle was gradually ignored and eliminated.

As far as the consultation of (*ulu 'l-amr*) on public matters is concerned, there are different opinions among scholars on this issue. However, as pointed out by Fathi Osman, "most commentators of the Qur'an as well as jurists take the term "*ulu 'l-amr*" to mean both the rulers and ulema together, while some of them say that it refers only to the *ahl al-Áall wa al-'aqd*. Mohammad Abduh supported the argument that the term ulu'l-amr meant *ahl al-Áall wa al-'aqd*.'[31] According to Fathi Osman, Abduh supported this view-point because he was more inclined to restrict the authority of the rulers by considering the Shëra as the basic authority in the Muslim community and the Islamic state."[32]

From the above discussion it is quite clear that those who elected the caliphs in the first round were the eminent persons and those who are consulted on public maters are also eminent persons whom include particularly those who are quite knowledgeable, the real Ulema. Obviously, the Ulema are mostly needed for doing '*ijtih«d*' whenever necessary based on the Qur'an, Prophetic traditions and the earlier precedents. Here, two important questions can be raised if the modern form of democratic system is accepted. Firstly, what if the general masses are ignorant and they elect either insincere and less knowledgeable persons in the parliament and legislative assemblies? Secondly, what if those who are elected are not the right kind of persons and they are incapable of doing '*ijtih«d*'?

According to Fazlur RaÁm«n, such apprehensions and objections were "first advanced by those Turks who sought to defend the imperial power of the Sultan against the protagonists of constitutionalism."[33] He pointed out that Namik Kamal from Turkey and MuÁammad al-Ghaz«lâ from Egypt refuted such arguments and asserted that general masses possess sufficient wisdom and practical sense to understand the state matters.[34] Furthermore, according to Fazlur RaÁm«n, '*amruhum shëra bainahum*' implies that "their common affair is to be decided by their common and mutual consultation and discussion-not by an individual or an elite whom they have neither elected nor sanctioned."[35]

Yet the problem remains unresolved. For instance, can any law made by the legislators be accepted to the Muslims even if it contradicts the Qur'an and the Sunnah only because it is passed in the elected legislature? As mentioned earlier, for Iqbal the abolition of the distorted caliphate in Turkey and the formation of the republican government is based on "sound *ijtih«d*." But could Iqbal accept the whole secularization programme of Ataturk and the subsequent secular governments in Turkey, Egypt and in all other Muslim states only because they are elected governments, by any chance? Could Iqbal accept absolute sexual and reproductive rights demanded by the feminists in some contemporary legislative assemblies which are

supported by the majority members in some countries only because they are discussed and accepted in the assemblies? All these show that modern election method and deliberations in the parliament though appear to be nearer to Islam but both in their spirit and actual practice, they are far away from the Islamic concepts of 'Shëra' '*ijtih«d* and *ijm«*' Hence modern election method and parliaments cannot guarantee a good government unless those who rule and those who are ruled mutually aim and work for the common good. In other words, democracy as such cannot be regarded as a good government acceptable to Islam unless those who are in power are God-loving people and they aim at the general good of the people and make the laws based on the spirit of the Qur'an and the Sunnah for all the good of the people.

From the above discussion, it is quite evident that although the elective and consultative principles of democracy are accepted by Iqbal as compatible to Islam, these principles are not totally free from problems and risks in secular democracies.

IQBAL'S REJECTION OF SECULAR FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACY

Iqbal's rejection of the secular and material foundation of democracy is rooted in his comprehension of the Islamic concept of TawÁâd, the unity of Allah and the unity of life. TawÁâd, for Iqbal, is the unifying force which joins the spiritual and material aspects of life into a single and the united entity of life. Unlike the dualistic concept of life of the West which separates 'matter' from spirit' according to Iqbal, in Islam 'all this immensity of matter constitutes a scope for the self-realization of spirit'.[36] For this reason, there is no bifurcation between 'mosque' and state and 'all that is secular is therefore sacred in the roots of its being'.[37] In fact, for Iqbal, distinction between the Church and the state does not exist in Islam. He writes:

That according to the law of Islam there is no distinction between the Church and the state. The state with us is not a combination of religious and secular authority, but it is a unity in which no such distinction exists. The caliph is not the necessarily the high priest of Islam; he is not the representative of God on earth... In fact, the idea of personal authority is quite contrary to the spirit of Islam.[38]

This unified approach to life in Islam is antithetical to secularism, nationalism and democracy. Iqbal was quite aware of this fact. He points out the main difference between democracy in Islam and democracy in Europe:

> The Democracy of Europe-fear overshadowed by socialistic agitation and anarchical originated mainly in the economic regeneration of European societies.....The Democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity, it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every human

being is a centre of latent power, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character.[39]

Democracy in the West being originated from the economic regeneration of European societies is secular and materialistic by its very nature. It mainly caters to the material life of a society leaving the spiritual aspect altogether. Consequently, democracy in the West tends to move away from moral and ethical values. This secularist and materialistic orientation of Western democracy is totally rejected by Iqbal. This is precisely pointed out by Fazlur RaÁm«n: 'the essence of his (Iqbal's) criticism is that the Western democratic societies aim only at accomplishing material ends, and that the average Western man is devoid of any vision of a higher moral social order.'[40]

Fazlur Rahman also points out that according to Iqbal, 'the error does not lie in the democratic forms and processes but in their lack of ethical and spiritual concerns and their orientations and value system'.[41] Therefore, for Fazlur RaÁm«n, "Iqbal was undoubtedly a democrat"[42] since he appreciated democratic forms and processes although he rejected democratic value system. Obviously, Iqbal's rejection of the democratic value system lies in his strong belief in the unity of life which joins the spiritual and the material aspects of life into one single entity.

Further more, Iqbal's concept of the sovereignty of Sharâ'ah which demands ultimate loyalty to Allah also contradicts secular democratic principles. Iqbal states: "It (Islam) demands loyalty to God, not to thrones. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature."[43] Besides this, in his *Rumëz i Bekhudâ*, he writes:[44]

What is it that infuses one breath in a hundred hearts?
It is one of the secrets of faith in TawÁâd!
Faith and Wisdom and Law all spring from it,
It is the source of strength and power and stability!
There is no god but God" is the capital of our life!
Its bond weaves our scattered thoughts together!

Thus, Iqbal looks at TawÁâd not merely as a verbal faith in the unity of God and unity of life but a spring from which flows 'wisdom' and 'laws' to reign supreme in society and state. Supremacy of Islamic laws implies supremacy of Allah's will, the Divine will. In other words, Allah's will which is expressed in the Qur'anic injunctions and Prophetic traditions on all aspects of the life of man and society at all levels should be prevailed supreme in the state. In short, Allah is the one who possesses sovereignty and people are His vicegerents on the earth. This implication of TawÁâd goes entirely against the main tenet of democracy, popular sovereignty. In secular democracy, it is the people who possess the right of making

the laws, and also executing and adjudicating the laws. In the formulation of laws it is not necessary for the people in legislature to refer to the scriptures, the Qur'an, the Bible or any other religious text. People are sovereign and independent to make their own laws based on man-made ideologies, man-made constitutions or in line with the programmes of the ruling parties. Therefore, there is a possibility in democracy that the 'laws' made by the people in the legislature may contradict the 'will of God' and even the 'will' of some good people in the state. Here, it is important to remember Rousseau, who emphasized that the 'general will' of the people should be a 'good will'. However, there is a great possibility that people who are making laws in a democratic government are not 'good' and therefore, the laws that are made by them are not based on 'good will'. Thus there are two clear risks in a secular democracy. Firstly, that "general will" may contradict the 'Divine will' because those who are making the laws may or may not refer to the Divine laws. Secondly, the 'general will' may not be the real 'general will' as characterized by Rousseau because those who are making the laws may not be necessarily good people. Hence, 'general will' in secular democracy need not be' good will' rather it can be a 'bad will' which is neither based on the good will of the good people nor it is in harmony with the laws of God.

Whereas, for Iqbal Islamic concept of TawÁâd demands from the 'man of belief' (*mard-i-mu'min*) submission of his will to the will of Allah. Iqbal describes it in these words:[45]

He subordinates everything to God:
His seeing and not seeing, his eating and drinking and sleeping!
In all thy action let thy aim be to draw nigh to God,
That His Glory may be made manifest by thee!

Hence, according to K. G. Saiyyidain, the (*mard-i-mu'min*), 'man of belief' of Iqbal is one who "lives his life in the name of the Lord, dedicating all his powers to the working out of His increasing purpose on earth, thus qualifying himself for the position of God's vicegerent".[46] Thus, man is a 'vicegerent of God in Islam not a sovereign, not also a part of popular sovereignty. This implies for Saiyyidain 'a rejection of all fears except the fear of God, a surrender of our will and purposes to His increasing purpose'[47]

In other words, in Islam, the true believers even if they are in the legislature and engage in the law-making process, they remain as vicegerents of God Hence they refer to the Divine laws while making the laws so that 'their will' should not be contradicting the 'Divine will'. It signifies that in Islam no believer submits to another believer or a group of believer rather all submit to God alone, while making, executing and adjudicating the laws. This Islamic principle is

fundamentally different from secular democracy where people make, execute and adjudicate the laws without necessarily looking into the laws of God, because they consider themselves sovereign. In practical sense, those who are elected by the people for the parliament and assemblies (law-making bodies) become the rulers and the rest have no way than to follow them or resist them as opposition with varying rates of success. It means that there is a great risk in Western secular democracy of degenerating into despotism, particularly, if those who are in power do not reflect the good will, rather their own 'selfish will' based on their own economic and political interest. For this reason, Iqbal once said the following on democracy: [48]

The Democratic system of the West is the same old instrument
Whose chords contain no note other than the voice of the Kaiser,
The Demon of Despotism is dancing in his democratic robes
Yet you consider it to be the Nilam Pari of liberty.

Islam does not tolerate any form of despotism. Whether it is despotism of single monarch or despotism of some people in power. Iqbal says: 'Subservience to others is a proof of the self's immaturty! Rise superior to such leaning, O bearer of the cross.'[49] At some other place, he writes: 'Learn the inner meaning of Muhammad's message, Rid yourself of all deities but God'.[50]

An important characteristic of democracy as pointed out by Iqbal is that "it has a tendency to foster the spirit of legality. This is not in itself bad; but unfortunately it tends to displace the purely moral stand point, and to make the illegal and the wrong identical in meaning."[51] This tendency of democracy becomes too harmful if the rulers in democracy become despotic and tends to legalize the wrong. This tendency of democracy is totally anti-Rousseaun. It contradicts his concepts of civil liberty, and moral liberty where people willingly obey the laws since they felt that they reflect their own will because these laws are not only made by them but they are made for their own good. Contrary to this in cotemporary times, in many democratic countries, neither people feel that they are following the laws which are made by themselves nor they feel that 'their will' is conjoined with the laws.

It is only in Islam that there is a possibility that the laws made by the Majlis-i-Shëra based on the Qur'an and Sunnah are followed by the believers as their own will because they reflect the will of God and the believers know very well that it is God alone who knows perfectly well what is good for people. Iqbal writes:

A man becomes a Muslim only when the commandments and prohibitions of the Qur'an appear to him as his own desires. He

would not then think that his endeavour to imbibe good morals, a taste for worship, aversion for ugly deeds and spiritual evils were a compliance of some strict authoritative orders of an unforgiving master. Instead, the proclivity to doing good and avoiding obnoxious deeds should arise from his own inner depths.[52]

Thus, according to Iqbal, a true Muslim is one who enjoys a true moral liberty even superior to the moral liberty of Rousseau. In Rousseau, an individual enjoys moral liberty when he realizes that his will is conjoined with the laws of the state which he has made for himself. Whereas, in the case of a true Muslim, he enjoys moral liberty because he realizes that he is following the laws which are based on the spirit of the Islamic texts, the Qur'an and the Sunnah and that his will is conjoined with the will of God. Therefore, when he follows the Divine laws, he does not feel that they are burdensome for him but he willingly follows them as though they are his own desires and will.

The same message is conveyed by Iqbal in the following poetic verses:

Shariat sprouts from the depths of life.
Darkness gives way before its light
and turns it into illumination.

If all the world of man were to accept prohibitions enjoined by it as prohibitions for all of them, the social structure built in its light would last forever.[53]

According to Muhammad Munawwar, the true believer of Iqbal feels that "to behave in the best manner possible is not burdensome direction imposed on him from out side, it rather oozes out of his own spirit."[54] In other words, such a spirit of following the Divine laws willingly is hidden within the nature of a true believer. Further, Munawwar explains that for Iqbal, when such conformity between the nature of man and the principles of nature take place, it stands for a proof in respect of the individual concerned that he or she have become a true believer."[55]

All these views of Iqbal on TawÁâd and on the supremacy of Sharâ'ah and on the 'man of belief' go entirely against the secular foundation of democracy and its important principle, popular sovereignty.

According to some scholars, Iqbal rejected democracy because he had less confidence on the masses and also because of his high vision of a perfect man (*mard-i-k«mil*) who resemble the superman of Nietzsche. Following poetic verses of Iqbal are quoted by such scholars to illustrate this point:[56]

Keep away from Democracy: Follow the perfect man,
For the intellect of two thousand asses cannot bring forth a single man's thought.

> *Democracy is a system where people are counted not weighed.*[57]

However, a deeper analysis of the above words of Iqbal along with his other socio-political ideas reveals that Iqbal never despises masses and Iqbal's vision of "Perfect Man" is not the same as the superman of Nietzsche. This can be illustrated through the following words of Iqbal:[58]

> Nietzsche, however, abhors this "rule of the herds," and hopeless of the plebian, he bases all higher culture on the cultivation and growth of an Aristocracy of supermen. But is the Plebian so absolutely hopeless?...Out of the plebian material, Islam has formed men of the noblest type of life and power. Is not, then, the Democracy of early Islam an experimental refutation of the ideas of Nietzsche?

Thus, Iqbal unlike Nietzsche does not abhor common masses. In fact he asserts that the earlier historical Islamic experience refutes the ideas of Nietzsche. Mazharuddin Siddiqui presents following observation on this issue:[59]

> Iqbal's idea of the 'Great Man', the Mard-e-Mo'min or Mard-e-Qalandar is not the undemocratic idea of a single superman who sums up all possible greatness in himself and leads the community unopposed, almost in the manner of a dictator. In fact it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the community may be led by a number of supermen working in cooperation with one another and resolving their mutual differences by means of free discussion.

The above observation of Mazharuddin seems to be acceptable. However, it cannot be denied that Iqbal in the above quoted poetic verses has bitterly criticized democracy-comparing masses with asses and pointing out the importance of a Perfect Man. On this point, Mazharuddin contends that 'Iqbal is not so much opposed to the democratic form of government as to the rule of a few untalented persons. Whenever a democracy comes to be governed by persons of a low calibre, who have neither intellect nor vision, it is likely to bring disaster to the people.'[60] He also argues that if the leadership of democracy is dynamic and possesses high calibre and broad vision, it can be successful.

Mazharuddin also points out the importance of educating people in democracy. He writes: "Political democracy is a necessary means of educating the people in the exercise of their rights, …."[61] It seems important to remember here that Rousseau has greatly emphasized the importance of providing civil education to the youth. He was deeply influenced by Plato on this issue who proposed state controlled system of education. Both Plato and Rousseau wanted that the state should infuse in the people from the beginning of their

childhood the love for the state and loyalty to the state. They should be schooled and disciplined in such a way that they would know what is 'good' and what is 'virtue' and should be ready to give their abilities and services to the state. According to Rousseau, such an education would help people in the formation and expression of 'good will'.

A crucial question arises here: In the contemporary times, do we find any democratic form of government, where such an education is provided to both the ruled and the rulers so that the 'general will' should be moulded as a 'good will'? Contrary to it, it is generally observed that although many democratic nation-states strongly follow the state-controlled system of education, but the spirit behind this education is neither Rousseaun nor Platonic. According to a general observation, in most of the modern nation-states, education is not provided to inculcate 'good will' in the people, but to rationalize and justify the "bad will" of those who are in power as the "good will"! This may be called as the politicization of knowledge in the modern nation-state system. But this is a fact that in many cases those who are in power are neither philosopher-kings[62] who know what is "virtue" and who aim at the establishment and supremacy of "virtue" nor they represent Rousseau's "good will" of the good people. In fact, some rulers in contemporary democracies though talk about the ideals of democracy but sincerely follow the advices which Machiavelli[63] offered to the rulers that cheating, killing, deception, fraud, force and any such evil act is justified for the acquisition, retention and expansion of power. Instead of making and promoting "good will", they preoccupy themselves in gaining the knowledge of "bad" advised by Machiavelli, so as to use this knowledge of 'bad' pragmatically according to the necessity.

In such state of affairs, can democracies work for the good and the wider interest of the people, if the rulers in democracies follow Machiavellian doctrine-ends justify the means? Does not it mean that in such conditions, democracy would turn into a government of the bad people, by the bad people for the good and bad people? It implies that there is a great risk of democracy degenerating into what we prefer to call as 'democracy,' rule of the demons. As monarchy may degenerate into "tyranny" if a monarch becomes a tyrant, so also democracy may degenerate into "democracy" if the people who are in power turn out to be the demons.

Hence, the most important factor for a good government seems to be the supremacy of good over bad and this is possible if those who are in power are good and aim at the establishment of good. It is the reason that Iqbal remembers Machiavelli as "that Florentine worshipper of Untruth,"[64] who" wrote a new code for the guidance", for rulers. Iqbal writes about Machiavelli: [65]

His mind fashioned new patterns (of mischief)
His religion made the state into a deity
And presented what was evil as good!
He kissed the feet of this deity
And tested truth on the criterion of profit!

One of the solutions to the above discussed problem of good "leadership" for a good government lies in good education. Such an education should be provided in the state that can produce good rulers so that they can make good laws representing "good will" not the "bad will". Obviously, such an education should not be God-secluded, rather God-centred. Nothing much can be expected from state-controlled secular education that is imparted to the young generation in secular democracies. Education which is devoid of God cannot bring forth God-loving and God-fearing leaders who can strive to give God a central place in laws, politics and society. Again, it is the Islamic philosophy of education which can alone perform this task much better than any other secular philosophy of education.

According to Iqbal, education has a higher purpose to "develop the Divine even in a plebeian and thus open up before him an infinite future".[66] As explained by Saiyyidain, according to Iqbal, education helps man in "discovering God in man, of developing God-like qualities in him and building up a world worthy of his habitation."[67] Iqbal strongly believed that knowledge "gives man power which should be subordinated to religion. If it is not subordinated to religion, it is a satanic force.'[68] Iqbal further emphasized that 'if the power of knowledge is inspired by religion, it is the greatest blessing for mankind.'[69] It is quite clear that Iqbal's philosophy of education is diametrically opposite to the educational philosophy that is operated in those secular democracies where knowledge is bifurcated into so called religious knowledge and modern or secular knowledge. Neither God-secluded education nor secularism which are the hallmarks of Western democracies are accepted by Iqbal. According to Iqbal, education should be inspired by religion so that God-centred education can produce God-loving leaders who can make the laws based on the Divine guidance and who can truly represent the "good will" because their will is conjoined with the "Divine will". Saiyyidain explains this point of Iqbal's philosophy in concrete words: "....there is room for that communion with the Self and with Nature which prepares one for spiritual communion with the Absolute or with God."[70] Thus, believers whose will is conjoined with the Divine will are most suitable people for leadership unlike those who rebel against God and make themselves sovereign. It is the reason that Iqbal condemns those Western secular democracies where neither people are prepared for their right nor the rulers are prepared to be virtuous and God-conscious. Unprepared people are elected by

unprepared people not on the criterion of virtue and God-consciousness but on the number of votes. Esposito could fully comprehend Iqbal's criticism of democracy at this point. He writes:

He (Iqbal) believed that the success of a democratic system was contingent upon the preparedness of its members. A democratic system might be than ideal given the constituents of the society. Thus, Iqbal did not accept the absolute democracy of undeveloped individuals. This is at the heart of his criticism of modern Western democracy: "Democracy is a system where people are counted but not weighed.[71]

No doubt, Iqbal aspires for such a society which should be constituted by "more or less unique individuals presided over by the most unique individuals possible."[72] This most unique individual is none other than a man of belief, *mard-e-mu'min* whom he sketches in the following words: [73]

The hand of the mu'min is the hand of Allah
Dominant, resourceful, creative, efficient!
Born of clay, he has the nature of light
A creature with the attributes of the Creator!

From the above discussion it is quite evident that most of the concepts and ideas of Iqbal as discussed above strike the very secular origins of democracy and its values.

Besides all these, Iqbal's philosophy of "Khudi" ego (selfhood), and his philosophy of Divine vicegerency also go entirely against the temperament and nature of secular democracy. In secular democracy, the relation of man with God is limited and formal. Whereas, a believer in Islam who is conscious of his "Khudi" selfhood, strives to make himself as perfect as possible and as nearer to God as possible to establish the Kingdom of God on the earth. According to Iqbal, man cannot be a complete individual as long as he distances himself from God. He becomes a complete person '*mard-i-k«mil*' when he comes nearer to God and "he absorbs God into himself."[74] Thus 'the true person not only absorbs the world of matter by mastering it, he absorbs God Himself into his Ego."[75]

In order to become unique and absorb God, the Ego passes through three stages- "(a) Obedience to the law, (b) self-control, which is the highest form of self-consciousness or Ego-hood (c) Divine vicegerency."[76] Divine vicegerency is identified by Iqbal "as the third and the last stage of human development on earth."[77] At this stage, man becomes "the vicegerent of God on earth," "the most complete Ego," "the goal of humanity," the acme of life both in mind and body.'[78] He established the 'Kingdom of God on earth'[79] which implies the establishment of "democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individuals possible on this earth."[80]

In fact this strong man of belief (*mard i mu'min*) who is conscious of his selfhood according to Saiyyidain, becomes the architect of his destiny and a co-worker with God in His Plan.'[81] This is expressed by Iqbal in these words:[82]

Exalt thy ego so high that God Himself will consult
Thee before determining thy destiny.

Thus, having exalted himself, this *mard i mu'min* sets out for the performance of Divine vicegerency:[83]

"Tis sweet to be God's vicegerent in the world
And exercise sway over the elements.
God's vicegerent is as the soul of the universe;
His being is the shadow of the Greatest Name
He knows the mysteries of part and whole,
He executes the command of Allah in the world.

Thus, Iqbal's 'man-of-belief,' (*mard i mu'min*) is one who is conscious of his (Khudi) selfhood. This consciousness enlightened him about his position of a vicegerent of God and enables him to execute the laws of God in the world. This whole philosophy of Iqbal of 'selfhood' (khudi) goes against secular democracy which makes people 'sovereign and independent from God and destroy their self-consciousness and secrets of self (khudi) from them.

CONCLUSION

History bears witness to the fact that during the period of absolute monarchies in the West, people badly required some ideology to fight against the absolute monarchs. They found in democracy a good weapon for them to fight against absolute monarchs and form their own government based on the consent of the people. They were quite successful in their attempt since absolute monarchies slowly transformed into constitutional monarchies and then into representative democracies. But the story of the Muslim world is totally different. The Muslim world during its earliest phase followed (Shëra) consultational and election method, then gradually transformed into different forms of monarchies, and empires. In all these forms, the concept of Shëra was neglected in varying degrees. Later, during this period of negative political transformations when the Muslim rulers and masses became weaker and colonisable, they were colonized by the Western imperial powers.[84] By the time the Muslim lands attained independence from the colonial masters, the Western leaders made sure that they left behind them the 'Babu class' as what Arnold Toynbee called those who had no interest what so ever in Islamic mission but they have their own vested interest. Since then, most of the Muslim rulers in most of the Muslim states continue to come from the "Babu class." Hence, presently the question which is standing before the Muslims is not the installation of democracy for the continuation of the rule of 'Babu class' people but the

establishment of Divine vicegerency, the rule of the vicegerents of Allah SWT to establish the laws of God, supreme in the world. This needs the establishment of Caliphate or Islamic political order or Islamic state. But this does not however mean that Muslims should resort to force to install Islamic political system. All those Islamic movements and Islamic parties which are striving for the establishment of Islamic state all over the world are quite aware that "there is no compulsion in Islam."[85] For this reason they are participating in the elections so that they come to power on the consent of the people not on the basis of "force." However, the whole problem of the Islamists coming to power is not so simplistic. The Islamists have to fight against three anti-Islamist forces: two internal within the Muslim states and the other external. Under external comes the Western powers that are anti-Islam and are ever ready to help the dominant internal class, the 'Babu class' against Islamists for their own 'vested interest' – political hegemony. They may be referred to as 'Hegemu class.'[86] There is one more internal force, which comprises of those pseudo-intellectuals who are always opportunists and are ready to serve the secular political leadership in return of some positions and privileges. They may be referred to as 'Oppu class.'[87] They run big "think tanks" under the patronage of secular political leaderships and help the secular cause and deceive general masses. Thus there is a well-planned and well-knitted collaboration among anti-Islamist forces from local to international level and from both the sides, intellectual and political. The anti-Islamist collaborators become as undemocratic as possible in the name of democracy to block all the roads of Islamists to power with the argument that the Islamists would not form a democratic government. Is this collaboration democratic? If not, then is it not more urgent and imperative for Islamists who aim to establish peace and justice on the earth and who may be classified as 'Justu class'[88] to concentrate seriously on how to combat against the undemocratic strategies of the so-called democrats instead of engaging in the debates on the compatibility or incompatibility of democracy with Islam?

This short study on Iqbal's views on democracy has clearly revealed that Iqbal's acceptance of some democratic principles that are compatible with Islam does not mean that Iqbal has totally accepted democracy. The secular philosophy of those democratic principles are far away from Islamic concepts of Shëra and *ijm«*' and is incompatible with Islam and is therefore rejected by Iqbal. It is also pointed out in the paper briefly that democratization in the real sense of promoting "liberty" and "equality" to the people has never been the mission of the West, rather it has its own vested interest behind it. In such state of affairs, it seems pertinent for Islamists to reflect and

formulate some suitable strategies to face the undemocratic strategies of anti-Islamist collaborators and set proper direction to attain their goal-revitalization of Islamic civilization. Revitalization of Islamic civilization entails the establishment of all socio-political and economic institutions based on the Divine Laws, which reflect the Divine will. When the Divine laws prevail supreme in the Islamic civilization, people would enjoy real liberty and freedom because they would follow the Divine laws willingly. This further shows that people can enjoy real liberty only through Divine vicegerency not through popular sovereignty.

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[85] al Qur'an, 2:256
[86] The Word 'Hegemu' is made from the English word hegemony. To sound with the word 'Babu class' an alphabet 'u' is added after the first four alphabets of the word hegemony to make it sound 'Hegemu'.
[87] The word 'Oppu' is made from the English word opportunity. An alphabet 'u' is added after the first three alphabets of the word opportunity to make it sound 'Oppu', to go with the other terms.
[88] This is self-explanatory. Here, all those Muslims are included who are the 'helpers of Allah' in the way of Allah, to whom the Qur'an calls 'Ansar ullah' and they aim at the establishment of justice in the world. This word 'Justu' is made from the word justice. An alphabet 'u' is added after the first four alphabets of the word justice to make it sound 'Justu'.

Allama Iqbal— News, Views and Events:
A Survey of the English Newspapers of Pakistan During 1953

Dr. Nadeem Shafiq Malik

In addition to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) is rightly regarded as the founding father of Pakistan. Throughout his life span and even after his demise, his indebted community has shown unparalleled respect and admiration for him. The tendency reached its apex after the establishment of Pakistan, when Iqbal Day celebrations used to be observed with great dedication. The English dailies of Pakistan have also contributed a lot in that endeavour. This is the fourth in the series of surveys that the present author has made. We have made an attempt to trace all such functions as reported in the English newspapers of Pakistan during 1953. It is hoped that this endeavour would reveal, at least to a considerable extent, the perceptions of the great seer and statesman found in the Pakistani journalism and the perspectives that underlie these perceptions.

•The first news regarding Allama Iqbal, which appeared in the year 1953, was about an Iranian diplomat, Friduni's lecture on Iqbal. *The Pakistan Times* in its issue of January 20, 1953 informed that M. H. M. Friduni, Cultural Counselor, of Iranian Embassy in Pakistan, would deliver a lecture on 'Allama Iqbal and Persian language' on January 21 in the Senate Room of the Punjab University, Lahore.[1]

•During the month of April, a flood of news items, editorials and articles about Allama Iqbal appeared in the English dailies which are described in the following.

•On April 7, 1953, a news item appeared in *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore informed that the Salimullah Muslim Hall Union would observe the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal on April 21 by holding an essay competition on the occasion. The subjects for essays were 'Iqbal as a humanist' (English) and 'Iqbal and nationalism' (Bengali).[2] *The Pakistan Times* in its issue of April 13, 1953 communicated that 'Iqbal Day' was being celebrated at Allahabad (Bahawalpur) under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu. The programme would be followed by a '*mushaira*' in which Mahirul Qadiri,

Nazeer Dahqani, Zohra Nigah, Nazar Hyderabadi, Wahida Naseem, Adeeb Sahanranpuri and Ibrahim Jalees were expected to participate.[3]

• *The Civil and Military Gazette*, informed on April 15, 1953 that 'Iqbal Day' was being observed at Montgomery in a befitting manner on April 19 under the presidentship of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.[4] The paper in its issue of April 16, 1953 communicated that April 21 would be observed as a closed holiday because of Iqbal Day throughout Azad Kashmir. It was further communicated that arrangements were being made to hold public meetings in all districts of the area under official patronage to commemorate the death of poet-philosopher of the East. The local Bazm-i-Adab was also arranging a function where papers on the life and works of Allama Iqbal were planned to be read.[5]

•On April 17, 1953, *The Pakistan Times* informed that Iqbal Day would be observed at Dhaka under the auspices of All Pakistan Youth Movement on April 21. It was further added that a meeting would be held in the local District Board Hall under the chairmanship of I. H. Zubair[6] The paper also informed that Abul Kalam Azad would preside over an Iqbal Day *mushaira* to be held at the Pakistan High Commission at New Delhi on April 21, 1953.[7]

•In 1953, Iqbal Day was observed in a low profile. On April 17, 1953 a news appeared in *The Pakistan Times* which stated that famous publisher John Murray would publish Iqbal's philosophical poem, '*The Mysteries of Selflessness*' translated by Arthur Arberry in 'Wisdoms of the East' series. Described by the publishers as giving 'first hand account of Muslim attitude to problems of present day society', it was hoped that the poem's publication would be an outstanding event of literary scene.[8]

•Through their various issues, *The Pakistan Times, Dawn* and *The Civil and Military* informed about Iqbal Day celebrations observed through out the country. They reported that at Lahore, the Punjab government officially celebrated the Iqbal Day by organising a select gathering in the Punjab University where papers were read on various aspects of Iqbal's poetry. ►The Punjab Minister for Agriculture, Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti, who presided over the meeting, said that by imbibing the right ideals and virtues preached by Iqbal, Muslim society could get rid of the maladies from which it suffered now. Iqbal's poetry, he said, was an interpretation of the Quran and it infused a new life in the Muslims who felt despondent and hopeless about their future. The best way to pay compliments to the poet, he argued, was to read his poetry and act on it.[9] Some other speakers also spoke on the occasion and discussed life and philosophy of Iqbal. ►M. M. Sharif read a paper on 'Iqbal and Art' and elucidated, by illustrations from his poetry, Iqbal's conception of art and its meaning and object. ►The most interesting lecture was that of Khalifa Abdul Hakim who speaking on 'Iqbal and *mulla*' explained the attitude of the poet towards '*mulla*' as depicted in

his poetry. Quoting several verses and references from Iqbal's poetry, Khalifa said that unlike '*mulla*', Iqbal believed that 'Islam is an aspiration and not fulfilment'. ►Salahuddin Ahmed read a paper entitled 'Iqbal and *faqr*' and profusely quoted from Iqbal to elaborate his conception of *faqr*.[10] ►Khalifa Shujau-ud-Din (1887-1955)[11], the then speaker of the Punjab Assembly also spoke on the occasion.[12]

•Earlier in the morning, people visited the poet's tomb and offered *fatiha*, and placed wreaths. Commander Sector B and representatives of the Lahore APWA branch also placed a wreath on the poet's grave. The offices of *The Pakistan Times*, as usual, remained closed because of Iqbal Day.[13]

•The citizens of Karachi paid their homage to the memory of Allama Iqbal by observing the Iqbal Day with great solemnity. *Dawn*, *The Pakistan Times*, *The Khyber Mail*, *The Civil and Military Gazette* reported that a number of public meetings were held all over the city and in the educational institutions in memory of Allama Iqbal. A large number of people attended a public meeting, held under the auspices of Majlis-i-Iqbal at Jahangir Park, which was addressed, among others, by Mian Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani (1905-1918)[14], 'Abdul Wahab 'Azzam, Rashid Turabi (1908-1973)[15] and Mumtaz Hasan. The proceedings of the meeting were relayed by Radio Pakistan, Karachi.[16] ►In his presidential speech, Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani called upon the people of Pakistan to inculcate the virtues of the *mard-i-momin* of Iqbal if they wanted to raise Pakistan to be pinnacle of glory. He said that it was the clarion call of Iqbal that for the first time reminded the Muslims of their degeneration. He said that when Iqbal embarked on his mission of reuniting the Muslims who were torn by internal dissension and confusion he had an uphill task before him. Nevertheless, his faith in his mission, his passion to serve the cause of Islam and his sincerity of purpose convinced him compatriots of the truth of his message.[17] ►Speaking on the occasion, 'Abdul Wahab 'Azzam said that Iqbal's message transcended all geographical limits, as his message was universal. His invitation was the invitation of Islam itself and Islam's invitation is purely a universal one and knows no bounds. He urged that as the message by Iqbal in the present age was the message of Islam, therefore, it was the duty of Muslims to understand the message, translate it into practice, and spread it to every corner of the world.[18] ►Mumtaz Hasan in a brief speech said that Allama Iqbal gave a true interpretation of Islamic conception of a '*millat*' as against the territorial nationalism of the West. He believed in the true relationship of man and visualised humanity as one and not divided according to races, colours, or countries. It was this message that ultimately welded the Muslims of undivided India into one. ►Behzad Lakhnavi (1900-1974)[19], Nazar Hyderabadi and Asad Multani recited poems at the meeting.[20]

•The anniversary of Allama Iqbal's death was also observed by the United States Information Centre in Karachi. Khalid Ishaq addressed a public gathering on "Unexplored aspects of Iqbal's thought".[21] Pak Tamaddun Majlis (Karachi Branch) also planned to hold a discussion on Iqbal's life and work in various languages at Theosophical Hall, Karachi.[22] Radio Pakistan, Karachi also announced to broadcast special Iqbal Day programmes which included '*Rumi-o-Iqbal*: *Pir-o-Murid*', Iqbal's poem; '*Kitab-o-Sha'ir-o-Siyasat* ', a feature programme on Iqbal's call for political awakening and national consciousness; '*Iqbal Aur Kashmir*', a feature programme based on Iqbal's poems on Kashmir; '*Iqbal kay Khutoot*' giving extracts from the selected letters of Iqbal; '*Bia Ba Majlis-i-Iqbal*', a symposium attended by Maulvi Abdul Haq and Mumtaz Hasan; and 'Iqbal: The poet hero,' a talk in English by 'Abdul Wahab 'Azzam.[23] Moreover, the local newspapers also brought out special editions carrying large size photographs of Allama Iqbal and published special articles about his life and works.[24]

•Like Lahore and Karachi, Iqbal Day was celebrated in rest of the country which was liberally reported by the English papers. *Dawn* reported that in Hyderabad Sindh, various Iqbal Day meetings were held where Allama Iqbal's contribution to Islamic thought and his services for establishment of Pakistan were praised.[25] *The Civil and Military Gazette* communicated that throughout Multan Division, Iqbal Day meetings were held in all important towns at which speakers read papers on the life and works of Allama Iqbal and his inspiring messages to the Muslim nation were recited at those largely attended gatherings. The highlights of the day's programme were the '*mushairas*' held in the memory of the great poet in several parts in which prominent poets read out their poems. In Multan, the United States Information and Education Service relayed a number of records of the poetry of Allama Iqbal, which were listened to by many people in the local exhibition there.[26]

• *The Civil and Military Gazette,* also informed that Iqbal Day was observed at the Sultan Cotton Mills, Okara too. G. N. Dalmia, General Manager, while paying a glowing tribute to the poet of the East, said that Iqbal was the lover of Hindu-Muslim unity. He wanted to see India one of foremost countries of the world. He believed in universal unity as according to him, there lay the panacea of all evils. Later a '*mushaira*' was held which was attended along with others, by Hafeez Jallundhri, Zohra Nigah and Habeeb Jalib (1928-1993)[27], besides a considerable number of poets of Okara and Montgomery.[28]

• *The Khyber Mail* and *The Civil and Military Gazette,* revealed that people in towns and villages all over the Bahawalpur State observed Iqbal Day by holding meetings. A big '*mushaira*' was held at *tehsil* Allahabad and in the capital. The works and services of Iqbal were eulogised at a big meeting held in Sadiq High School, which was

addressed, by prominent educationist and poets besides the State Education Minister, Rao Hafizur Rehman.[29]

• *The Pakistan Times* reported that Iqbal Day was observed at Sargodha under the auspices of the Bazm-i-Uruj-i-Adab. A meeting under the presidentship of Khalid Badayuni was held at which Faiz Ludhianvi (1911-1995)[30], Ahmed Bakhsh Qureshi, and Arshad Bhatti read papers on the life and works of the celebrated poet. In the evening, a '*mushaira*' was also held with Faiz Ludhianvi in the chair, which was participated by the local poets.[31]

• *The Pakistan Times* and *The Khyber Mail* informed that the local literary and cultural organisations at Rawalpindi commemorated the 15th death anniversary of the poet Iqbal by holding special functions at a number of places in the city and cantonment areas. The biggest meeting arranged by 'Iqbal Day Committee' was held under presidentship of Lt. Gen. S. M. A. Faruqi at the Military Accounts Hall in the cantonment in which papers on the various aspects of the life and works of Allama Iqbal were read.[32]

•In the evening, another Iqbal Day meeting was held under the auspices of Central Welfare Committee, Military Accounts, Rawalpindi with S. A. Siddiqui, Military Accountant General, in the chair. The programme included reading of papers on various aspects of Iqbal's poetry and philosophy and recitation of a number of poems, which paid glowing tributes to his genius.[33] Another Iqbal Day meeting was held at Faiz-ul-Islam High School, Rawalpindi under the auspices of Idara-i-Funkar. The programme included papers, speeches, and poems on various aspects of the poet's life and philosophy.[34] A '*mushaira*' under the presidentship of Fazl Ahmed Karim Fazli was also planned at the Military Accounts Hall, Rawalpindi.[35]

• *The Pakistan Times* stated that 'Iqbal Day' was celebrated at Campbellpur, (now Attock) in the local Government College under the presidentship of S. M. Ilahi, Deputy Commissioner, Campbellpur. The morning session was devoted to speeches and '*maqalas*' on Iqbal and his poetry in which the principal, staff and students of the college and local talent participated. At night, a successful '*mushaira*' was held where apart from local poets, lyricists of Rawalpindi also participated.[36]

• *The Civil and Military* Gazette and *Dawn* gave an account of a well-attended public meeting presided over by Brigadier Nausher which was held at Muzaffarbad to observe Iqbal Day. Several Kashmiri poets and authors recited their poems and spoke on the life and works of Allama Iqbal. Those who took part in the literary symposium organised by the Bazm-i-Adab, Muzaffarabad, emphasized the common heritage of Pakistan and Kashmir in a befitting manner.[37] Another special function in observance of Iqbal Day was organized at the Lawrence College, Ghora Galli, Murree by the College's Majlis-i-Adab.[39]

• *The Pakistan Times* informed that the various organisations and institutions in Lyallpur District celebrated 'Iqbal Day'. Early in the morning a meeting was held at Government College, Lyallpur with Mian Ehsan-ul-Haque (1877-1957)[40], retired Session Judge in the chair. Besides others, Mir Abdul Qaiyum MLA, Taj Muhammad Khayal and M. H. Latif paid glowing tribute to the poet. In the evening a meeting was held at the Coronation Library Hall which was attended by the leading poets and writers of the District. Later in the night, a *mushaira* was held in the Koh-i-Noor Mills in which a number of poets from various parts of the country attended.[41]

• *The Pakistan Times'* correspondent at Jhelum reported that no commemoration function on the official death anniversary of Allama Iqbal was held on April 21. According to him, previously that occasion had been celebrated officially. However, a local literary body had chalked out a programme to hold a public meeting on April 24 in that connection.[42]

• *The Khyber Mail* and *The Pakistan Times* gave a detailed account of Iqbal Day celebrations in Peshawar started from April 19, on which a meeting was planned to be held under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu at the Edward College under the presidentship of Syed Yahya Shah, Director Public Instructions.[43] Another meeting was reported to held at Peshawar by the Frontier Branch of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu with Abdul Wadood Qamar in chair. At the gathering, papers and poetry were read on the life and works of Allama Iqbal. Hakim Hasan Abbasi, Zia Jaffari (1905-)[44], Farigh Bukhari (1917-1997)[45], Raza Hamadani (1910-1994)[46], Gul Badshah Gilani, Khatir Ghaznavi, Nazir Mirza Birlas, M. Shafi Sabir, and M. Umar Amir took part in the three hour programme.[47]

•On April 21, an Iqbal Day meeting was held at Government House with Khawaja Shahabuddin, Governor NWFP in chair where various papers on the life, poetry and philosophy of Allama Iqbal were read. In his presidential address, Khawaja Shahabuddin said that Allama Iqbal was not disappointed with the future of the Muslim nation and was convinced that they could be brought back to the path of their lost glory and told them so. He emphasized that it was the duty of every Pakistani on this day to rededicate him to the task that Iqbal had assigned to the nation.[48]

•According to reports published in *Dawn* and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Iqbal Day was observed throughout Baluchistan and Baluchistan States Union. Meetings were held at several places where the nation was reminded of the message of Allama Iqbal and his contributions to the renaissance of Islam. In Quetta, a meeting of the local College students was held where speeches on the life and works of Iqbal were delivered and a '*mushaira*' was arranged in the Town Hall.[49]

•Raz, the radio reviewer of *The Civil and Military Gazette*, while reviewing the Radio broadcasts made on Iqbal Day, observed that they were comparatively below the standard of the previous years. Declaring them 'a poor show', he questioned about the use of putting over the same old features again and again and urged that new angles in the poetry of the national bard should be discovered and listeners should be acquainted with some thing deep in Iqbal.[5]

TRIBUTES FROM EAST PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Times, The Morning News and *The Civil and Military Gazette*, communicated that at Dhaka, a large number of Iqbal Day meetings were held in different parts in which prominent speakers discussed the life and teachings of the great poet of Islam.

•A meeting under the auspices of the zonal branch of the All Pakistan Youth Movement was held at Dhaka District Board Hall, with Inamullah Khan (1914-1997)[51], Secretary General of the World Muslim Conference in the chair.[52] ►In his presidential address, Inamullah pointed out that the poet did not stand for the welfare and progress of any limited section of the people but for humanity at large. He appealed to the youth of East Pakistan to prepare themselves for the achievements of an all world Islamic federation. ►Others who spoke at the meeting were M. Shaidullah and Shah Azizur Rehman. ►The Bengali poet Ghulam Mustafa recited a poem which paid tributes to Allama Iqbal.[53]

•Rahmatullah High School, Dhaka celebrated the Day with great enthusiasm. At a meeting held in the school a resolution was adopted urging the necessity of setting up an Iqbal Academy. It was pointed out that the Academy should under take translation of the works of the poet in Bengali language in order to popularise them in this province. The message of Iqbal would in this way be carried to the Bengali speaking population, the resolution concluded.[54]

•The A. K. N. Association at Dhaka also observed 'Iqbal Day' under the presidentship of Shamsuddin Ahmed, an ex-Minsiter of pre-partition Bengal. A number of prominent radio artists recited poems and *ghazals*. The USIS presented a cinema show at the end of the meeting for the entertainment of the guests.[55] Other meetings were held in several colleges and schools of the city.

•Salimullah Muslim Hall Union, Nawakhali Association, and East Pakistan Krishak Mazdor League also observed Iqbal Day.[56]

•Later in the evening, a meeting was held in the medical college where speeches on the life and works of Iqbal were delivered.

• *The Morning News* reported that Iqbal Day was also observed at Bhairab (Mymensingh) under the auspices of the Cultural Club, Bhairab with Principal Muhammad Idris in chair. Essays on Iqbal were invited on that occasion and Salimuddin of Comilla District School and Hasna

Hona Begum of Dhaka Eden College stood first on the essay, "Iqbal's boyhood' and "Iqbal as philosopher" respectively.[57]

•The Iqbal Day celebrations held in East Pakistan were comparatively fewer than previous years. Commenting on it, Ishtiaq Ahmed Shauq wrote a letter to editor, *Morning News* appeared on April 24, 1953 in which he regretted that this year the death anniversary of Allama Iqbal was not observed in a befitting manner in Dhaka and the day passed away as any other day. The author recalled that the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu East Pakistan used to celebrate Iqbal Day every year. However, this year it was not at all in the picture. The author concluded that the Anjuman had miserably failed to do its duty and urged that it was time the Anjuman shook off its lethargy and started doing its work in right earnest.[58]

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

The English newspapers also gave due coverage to Iqbal Day celebrations held outside Pakistan.

• *The Morning News* reported that at Tehran, an Iqbal Day function was held at the Pakistan Embassy under the presidentship of Aghai Addebus Saltaneh Samili. ►In a message sent on the occasion, Muhammad Mossadeq, Prime Minister of Iran, said that the torch of light lit by Iqbal for the guidance of humanity would shine forever with ever-increasing brilliance. The message further said "Iqbal took pride in associating himself with the Iranian thinkers of Rum and Tabriz. Iran today looks up to him with reverence.[59]►Aghai Samili, in his presidential speech said that Iqbal was as much a national poet of Iran as of Pakistan. He said that Iqbal had not only brought Muslim people closed, but had given the right lead to all nations of the world to realise moral obligations of man to man. ►Dr. Khatibi, Professor of Literary Criticism at the Tehran University, and Sadiq Sarmad, a well-known Iranian national poet also spoke on the occasion. ►Aghai Rajai, Director of Administration of the Iranian Ministry of Education, recited *qasidas* specially composed for the occasion.[60]

• *The Morning News* revealed that Iqbal Day was also celebrated at Pakistan Consulate at Zahidan on April 21. One hundred guests including Farmandar-i-Kul of Baluchistan and Seistan, Brigade Commander, heads of various departments and their assistants and all prominent educationist of Zahidan attended the function. The meeting was inaugurated by a brief commentary by the *Mujtahid* of Zahidan, Aghai Kafaani. Thereafter, the Vice Consul of Pakistan welcomed the guests and touched briefly the personality of Allama Iqbal and his mission. Aghai Khudai, an educationist and a renowned poet, read out a very fine poetry on '*Roz-i-Iqbal*' which had repeated cheers from the audience. A local press correspondent, Aghai Refaat delivered a short

speech, which gave out a brief life sketch of Allama Iqbal. Aghai Rafi officiating Director of Education in Baluchistan delivered a very eloquent speech on that occasion which depicted his very intimate and clear touch with Iqbal works and his mission of bringing the world's Muslims together. He said that he was convinced that as Iqbal's dream about Pakistan came out to be true, his revelation about the unity of the Muslim world should also turn out to be an established fact one day. The meeting was concluded by a speech by the Farmandar-i-Kul Aghai Taimur Moini, who paid warm tributes to Allama Iqbal.[61]

•Iqbal Day was observed at Istanbul under the auspices of the Turkey—Pakistan Cultural Association that was reported in *The Pakistan Times* and *The Civil and Military Gazette.* The meeting was attended by a distinguished gathering which included ministers of the Turkish government and Pakistan's Ambassador to Turkey, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan. Abdul Kadir Karahan and Jafar Hassan Aybele delivered speeches on the life and thought of Allama Iqbal. The Turkish poet, Ali Ganjeli recited pieces from Iqbal's '*Piam-i-Mashriq*' and '*Asrar-i-Khudi*' translated by him into Turkish.[62]

• *The Pakistan Times, The Khyber Mail,* and *Dawn* reported about Iqbal Day commemoration in India. It was stated that the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India arranged two '*mushairas*'. The afternoon '*mushaira*' was presided over by Abul Kalam Azad, Indian Minister of Education, while the evening '*mushaira*' was presided over by Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, Indian Minister of Home Affairs. Diplomats, high government officials, prominent citizens of Delhi besides well-known poets from Delhi and outside participated. Speaking on the occasion, Dr. Katju asked Shoaib Qureshi (1891-1962)[63], Pakistani Minister for Information and Broadcasting, who was among the audience, to take to Pakistan a message of love and goodwill from all Indians, This message, he said, Iqbal had preached in his poems. In response, Shoaib Qureshi replied that the salvation of India and Pakistan lay in mutual love and friendship.[64]

•'Iqbal Day' was also planned to be observed in Jallundar at the residence of Abdul Rahman Khan, Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan. The programme included reading of papers and a '*mushaira*' in which local poets and some members of the Pakistan Deputy High Commission were expected to participate.[65]

• *Dawn* reported that Iqbal Day was also observed at Colombo with great enthusiasm. The programme included *Quran Khawani* in Memon Mosque in the morning and a public meeting organised by Iqbal Society of the premier Muslim institution, Zahira College, in the evening. Radio Ceylon also announced to broadcast one hour special radio programme. One thousand copies of a booklet entitled, '*Iqbal: The Man and his*

Poetry' was also planned to be distributed free on the occasion by the Pakistan High Commission.[66]

•Iqbal Day celebrations in Colombo commenced early in the morning with *Quran Khawani* and offering '*fatiha*' at Memon Mosque. ► Speaking on the occasion, Haji Abdus Sattar Saith, Pakistan's High Commissioner in Colombo said that teachings of Iqbal had made the Muslims view the interest of the community at large as more important than one's personal betterment or success.[67] Radio Ceylon commenced the day with a fifteen minutes recorded musical recital of poems of Iqbal. ►A talk in English for fifteen minutes by Senator A. M. A. Azeez and a feature programme in Tamil for an hour and a half was relayed in the evening. The celebrations ended with a public meeting at Zahira College hall which was attended by elite of the Muslim community. Speaking on the occasion in Tamil, Moulvi Khalilur Rahman profusely quoted from works of Iqbal and pointed out how like a *mujaddid* of the century or of age, Allama Iqbal saved the Muslim community from downfall towards which they were leading by blindly and foolishly following the western civilization.[68]

•*Dawn* and *The Morning News* informed that a group of distinguished Iqbal admires at Washington celebrated Iqbal Day at a function held at the auditorium of the new Washington Islamic Centre attended by a large number of Muslim diplomats and Americans nationals. The crowd heard American and Middle Eastern speakers variously laud Iqbal as a statesman who helped create a great nation; as a philosopher who synthesised the best of eastern and western culture, and as a poet whose brilliance assures him an immortal place. ►Tributes to Iqbal were paid in the Urdu, Persian and English languages by a group of speakers which included Syed Amjad Ali (1908-1997)[69], Pakistani Ambassador at large who was then visiting America, Dr. Lotf Ali Suratgar of Iran, visiting professor of Persian language and culture at Columbia University in New York; and Dr. George J. Candreva, head of the Urdu section of the VOA. ►Other speakers included Hassan Saad, First Secretary of the Lebanese Embassy at Washington and E. H. Enver a staff member of the Pakistani Embassy in Washington.[70] ►Speaking on the occasion, Dr. Suratgar said that Iqbal's greatest and most significant message is that of hope and the call for human effort. In Iqbal's world, human happiness is only possible through toil and hard work. He calls the Asians to follow the Prophet of Islam's ε command, 'Nothing avails man, but work'. Dr. Suratag continued that to Iqbal mental and physical happiness is possible only when the human body joins the mind of man in a positive effort to provide life with all the enjoyment that this earth can produce to care the burden of existence. This is indeed a message worthy of a brilliant poet and philosopher and a constructive reformer and architect, he concluded.[71] ►Dr. Candreva

while emphasising Iqbal's 'creative energy and leadership' observed that Iqbal is among the very few who create anything that arrests that attention of men and compels fresh thought and it is because of this simple reason that he did think creatively and originally, he endures. ▶Enver and Saad, who recited verses from Iqbal's poetry, paid similar tributes. ▶Syed Amjad Ali related Iqbal anecdotes, which he recalled from an association that began when he was a child of six and continued unbroken until the poet's death in 1938.[72]

•The VOA also planned to broadcast an Urdu feature on 'The universal element in Iqbal's poetry' during its Urdu broadcast for Pakistan.[73]

• *The Khyber Mail* informed that The Institute for the Middle and Far East, Rome also celebrated the Iqbal Day with assistance of Pakistan legation. A musical programme arranged at the occasion was highly appreciated. The well-known musician Aldo Mantia was deeply impressed by the Italian translation of Iqbal's *Javid Namah* that moved him to compose incidental music to some of his poem.[74]

• *The Civil and Military Gazette*, *Dawn* and *The Morning News* reported that Iqbal Day was celebrated at the Hague at the Oriental Institute organised by the Pakistan *charge d affairs*, Lal Shah Bokhari (1906-1959)[75] in co-operation with the Eastern Society in the Netherlands. ▶ Speaking on the occasion, Prof. J. J. H. Duyvendak, President of the Oriental Society in the Netherlands, said that Iqbal was a man of peace, ideas and vision. He pointed out the fitness of the commemoration at the Leiden University, age-old centre of Oriental study, which for so many years was the home of that great orientalist and student of Islam. ▶ Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje. "It was in fact his pupil and successor, Prof. A. J. Wensinck, for several years honorary Secretary of our Oriental Society, who entered into correspondence with Iqbal and profoundly influenced his ideas on some very important points," the Professor continued. ▶ Altaf Hussain, leader of the Pakistani Press delegation then visiting Netherlands, also addressed the meeting. He said that Iqbal sought a solution of the ills of humanity in working out synthesis of Eastern and Western ways of thought and patterns of life. The function was attended by a large gathering including the Egyptian and the Iranian Ministers, Indonesian High Commissioner and a number of Dutch intellectuals.[76]

•Iqbal Day was also celebrated at Stockholm at a function held under the auspices of the Swedish-Pakistan Friendship Society. Among those who attended were members of the diplomatic corps, especially those of the eastern countries, representatives of the various sections of Swedish society and local Pakistanis.[77]▶Dr. Nils Gyllenbaga, a well-known Swedish litterateur, explained Iqbal to the gathering in terms of European poetry. "Iqbal," he said, "was a symbol of the energetic activist strain of

thought in undivided India which resulted in the setting up of Pakistan." Quoting extensively, he illustrated various aspects of Iqbal's philosophy and poetry. He particularly referred to *Asrar-i-Khudi*, which in his opinion is Iqbal's most important work and whose opening verses, summed up his philosophy, and observed that in its vigour and strength, it belied the average westerner's conception of eastern poetry. He drew a parallel of this vital kind of poetry, in such Swedish authors as Heidenstam, Thorild and Kallgren from whom he quoted extensively comparing with Iqbal's verses. ▶Towards the end of the function, Ericson (one time Swedish Minister in Pakistan) Prof. Denner of Uppsala, Dr. Munthe Richerd, and Lady Pubn (a well-known author) held a brief discussion on Iqbal.[78]

• *The Civil and Military Gazette* reported that Iqbal Day was observed at London by the Iqbal Society in Britain at the Islamic Cultural Centre with M. A. H. Isfahani (1902-1981)[79], Pakistan High Commissioner to Britain in chair. ▶ Isfahani, in his presidential address said that Allama Iqbal's outlook on life was based on the intensely humanistic system of thought given to the world by our Holy Prophet ε. He added that Iqbal stressed that Islam was a living faith, which placed the utmost importance on the individual. As the first man in the East to attempt a reorientation of Muslim thought in the light of modern philosophical concepts, Iqbal's work marked the renaissance of the Muslims. The High Commissioner added that in our generation, Iqbal had restored to us pride in our past and inspired us with faith in our future, for it was through his verses that the vision of Pakistan was first glimpsed. His conception of the new state was the establishment of a society deeply interested in the service of humanity and in the promotion of peace and a state providing equal opportunities for all irrespective of colour, caste, or creed, he concluded.[80]

Even a cursory glance on the above materials would reveal that Allama Iqbal being the originator of the idea of newly established state enjoyed a special status among the Pakistani intelligentsia. A survey of English dailies of Pakistan which existed during 1953 reveals that he was highly respected for his multi-dimensional services and his views were persistently quoted by renowned personalities of every walk of life, like writers, politicians, intellectuals, civil servants and theologians as guidelines to be pursued in reshaping the proposed structure of the motherland. His ideas were presented as a panacea for all the ills and rallying point for the development of a sense of unity and oneness.

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* This is the fourth of a series of surveys planned by the author covering the whole gambit of Iqbal Day celebrations for the last five decades or more. For the first, second and third parts of the survey, dealing with 1950, 1951and 1952 respectively, see *Iqbal Review* Vol. 41, No. 2, April 2000, 41, No. 4, October 2000 and Vol. 42, No. 2, April 2001. (Editor)

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[63] Shuaib Qureshi (1891-1962); pan-Islamist, lawyer, politician, journalist, diplomat; member of the medical mission to Turkey during Balkan war under Dr. Ansari, 1912-13; active in Rae Bareli politics, 1913-15; worked for Sultania College Scheme in Bhopal, 1916; editor *New Era*, 1917; member, AIML Council went to Switzerland, 1920; published a pan-Islamic newspaper from Switzerland, 1921; edited *Young India*, 1921, *Independent*, 1921; also edited *Muslim Outlook*, London; *New Era*, Luckhnow; member Muslim League Committee for framing a constitution for India, 1924; All Parties Conference Committee which produced Nehru Report, 1928; being the only member who dissented; retired from active politics, 1928; served in Bhopal State service, 1929-48; Pakistan's envoy to Soviet Union, 1949-53; India, 1953; and Iraq, 1955-59; Minister for Information Government of Pakistan, 1953-54.
[64] " 'Iqbal Day' *mushairas* in Delhi," *The Pakistan Times*, April 19, 1953; "Iqbal Day in Delhi," *Dawn*, April 19, 1953; " 'Iqbal Day' *mushaira* in Delhi: All India Radio to relay," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1953; "Indians appreciation of Iqbal's teachings," *The Khyber Mail*, April 23, 1953.
[65] "'Iqbal Day' plans for Jallundar," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1953; "*Mushaira* in Jallandur," *The Morning News*, April 28, 1953.
[66] " 'Iqbal Day' to be observed in Ceylon," *Dawn*, April 20, 1953.
[67] "Iqbal a firm believer in inherent greatness of the human individual," *The Morning News*, April 26, 1953.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] Syed Amjad Ali (1908-1997); politician, diplomat, writer, parliamentarian, worker of Pakistan movement; Hon. Private Secretary to the Agha Khan during his visits to India, 1934-36; delegate/Secretary, British Commonwealth Relations Conference, Sydney, 1938; Hon. Joint Secretary, Muslim delegation to the RTC, 1931-32.; Hon. Secretary, Indian delegation to the Joint Select Committee, 1933; Resident Secretary Unionist Party; Chief Whip, Punjab Government, 1940-45; Punjab Legislative Assembly, Working Committee, PPML, 1942; Pakistan Constituent Assembly; National Assembly of Pakistan;

Leader Pakistan delegation to the 10th session of the UN Economic and Social Council, 1950; Pakistan Ambassador in the USA, 1953-55; Minister for Finance & Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan 1955-57. Pubs. *Aj aur Kal; Aqwam-i-Mutahida aur Main; Karwan-i-Makatib, Jhalkian* (autobiography).

[70] "Iqbal a messenger of hope: US homage to poet of East," *Dawn*, April 26, 1953; "Iqbal Day in Washington," *The Morning News*, April 29, 1953.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] "Iqbal's death anniversary: VOA programme," *The Pakistan Times*, April 21, 1953; "VOA's Urdu broadcast of Iqbal," *The Khyber Mail*, April 21, 1953.

[74] "Rome celebration of Iqbal anniversary," *The Khyber Mail*, May 1, 1953.

[75] Lal Shah Bokhari (1906-1959) Olympian, diplomat; Pakistan's envoy to Brazil and Iraq.

[76] "Hague and Stockholm functions on Iqbal Day," *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 24, 1953; "Iqbal Day ceremony in Netherlands: Pakistan newsmen attend," *Dawn*, April 22, 1953; "Iqbal Day in the Hague," *The Morning News*, April 27, 1953; "Iqbal Day celebration in Stockholm," *The Morning News*, April 28, 1953.

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] Mirza Abul Hasan Isfahani (1902-1981); a leading industrialist who was extremely close to the Quaid-i-Azam and helped him in wiring over the Muslim industrial and business classes; member, 1933-35, 1940; and Deputy Mayor, 1941-42; Calcutta Corporation; member, Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1937-47; President Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta; member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 1947; Deputy Leader, Pakistan delegation to UN, 1947; Pakistan envoy to US, 1947-52; UK, 1952-54; and Afghanistan, 1973-74; Central Minister for Industries and Commerce, 1954-55; Pubs. *The Case of Muslim India*; *Jinnah as I Knew Him*; Z.H. Zaidi, ed., *M. A. Jinnah- Isfahani Correspondence 1936-48.*

[80] "Pakistan wide homage to Allama Iqbal", *The Civil and Military Gazette*, April 23, 1953.

RUMI'S PATH OF REALIZATION

William C. Chittick

In the Mathnawī Rumi tells the story of a traveller who put up for the night at a Sufi lodge, entrusting his donkey to the gatekeeper. The other Sufis staying there were not an especially scrupulous lot. They took the man's donkey, sold it, and proceeded to entertain him with a lavish feast. Soon the man was singing and dancing to the tune of *khar biraft u khar biraft u khar biraft*—"The donkey's gone, the donkey's gone, the donkey's gone!" Only in the morning, once everyone else had left, did he discover the meaning of the song.

In the story, the donkey represents a human lifetime, or the embodiment that allows for the unfolding of a human soul. Using the same sort of imagery, Rumi frequently speaks of Jesus and his ass—the spirit and the body. Without the ass, Jesus cannot ride to Jerusalem, which is to say that without the body, the spirit cannot reach its true beloved. In this particular story, the song that the traveller picks up from the dervishes represents the knowledge and information that we gain without understanding its significance. Morning stands for death, when the human spirit wakes up to reality.

Rumi uses the story to illustrate the evil consequences that may follow upon *taqlīd*, that is, "imitation" or "following authority." If we simply imitate others in our knowledge and fall short of realizing the truth and reality of what we know, we will lose sight of our destination and be prevented from reaching our goal. In Rumi's tale, once the traveller wakes up and recognizes his own stupidity, he cries out,

> *Imitating them has given me to the wind—*
> *two hundred curses on that imitation!* (II 563) [1]

If we look only at the moral of the tale, the words sound strangely familiar. We have been hearing this lament—"two hundred curses on that imitation"— from Orientalists and Muslim reformers for over a century. It might seem that Rumi, seven hundred years ago, had already perceived that *taqlīd* was leading the Islamic community into decadence and disaster. It also might seem that by criticizing *taqlīd*, he is recommending the revival of *ijtihād*, that is, the exercise of independent judgment in matters of the Shariah. However, these would be premature conclusions. In fact, Rumi is talking about something quite different.

* * *

In the Islamic sciences, *taqlīd* is discussed in two contexts. The first is jurisprudence, where it is contrasted with *ijtihād*. A full-fledged *mujtahid* does not follow the opinion of anyone else in the Sharī'ah, because he or she is able to derive the law directly from the Koran and the Hadith. The vast majority of Muslims, however, do not have sufficient knowledge and training to be *mujtahids*, so they must be "imitators" (*muqallid*). In other words, they must accept the legal rulings of those who possess the proper qualifications.

During the early centuries of Islam, Muslims developed the legal implications of the Koran and the Hadith gradually, but eventually these became quite complex. Even in the early period, becoming a respected expert in the Sharī'ah demanded dedicating one's life to the study of the Koran, the Sunnah, and the opinions of the Companions and the Followers. Eventually, among Sunnis, it was largely accepted that the "gate of *ijtihād*" had been closed, because it had become too difficult to achieve the proper qualifications to be a real *mujtahid*. At best, scholars could issue *fatwas* in new situations. In modern times, it has often been have claimed that the gate of *ijtihād* must be reopened so that Islam can enter into the modern world.

The second context in which *taqlīd* has been discussed is the intellectual tradition, especially philosophy and Sufism. Here imitation is contrasted not with *ijtihād* but with *taḥqīq*, a word that can be translated as "verification" or "realization." Its basic meaning is to search out the *ḥaqq* of things, that is, their truth and reality. When Rumi speaks of *taqlīd*, it is always in the context of *taḥqīq*, not *ijtihād* in the technical sense.[2]

Ijtihād and *taḥqīq* pertain to two different realms of religious concern—practice (*islām*) and faith (*īmān*), or transmission (*naql*) and intellection (*'aql*). The jurists occupied themselves with defining right activity, but the philosophers and Sufis focused on right knowledge of things. The former kept themselves busy with the visible realm of activity, but the latter were more concerned with the invisible realm of understanding.

The Koran sums up the objects of faith with one word—*ghayb*, the unseen, the invisible, the absent (cf. 2:3). It was the objects of faith that Sufis and philosophers investigated in order to achieve *taḥqīq*. In the typical list, these objects are God, the angels, the scriptures, the prophets, the Last Day, and divine providence. They are summed up as the "three roots" of faith, i.e., *tawḥīd*, prophecy, and the Return to God.

When Sufis and philosophers offered the cognitive results of *taḥqīq*, they spoke of various forms of knowledge that might be classified today as metaphysics, cosmology, and spiritual psychology. These sciences were central to Islamic "intellectual" knowledge (as opposed to

"transmitted" knowledge), and they are precisely the sciences that flesh out the meaning of the *ghayb*. Without understanding the unseen objects of one's faith, one is believing in empty words. Remember here that Shi'ites tell us explicitly that *taqlīd* in matters of faith is forbidden. One must have faith in God and his prophets not on the basis of hearsay, but on the basis of understanding the truth and reality of *tawḥīd* and prophecy.

Knowledge achieved through *ijtihād* explicates the legal implications of the Koran, the Sunnah, and the opinions of the forebears. Knowledge achieved through *taḥqīq* uncovers the reality of the objects of faith. Indeed, all the objects of faith pertain precisely to the realm of "realities," *ḥaqā'iq*. Like *taḥqīq*, this word (the plural of haqīqa) derives from the same root as *ḥaqq*. A reality is something that is "worthy" (*ḥaqīq*) to be and that is really and actually found in some realm of existence. In the technical language of philosophy, the realities are also called the "quiddities" (*māhiyyāt*), and, in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabī, the "fixed entities" (*a'yān thābita*). If the realities pertain to the realm of the "unseen," it is because our sensory faculties cannot perceive them, even if they can be perceived by the intellect, or the heart, or the eye of faith.

Everything that exists in the visible and invisible realms is some sort of reality or, depending on definitions, manifests a reality. There are levels of existence in which realities appear in different modes, levels that are very much at issue in the intellectual tradition. It is precisely these that are investigated with the help of concepts like the "Five Divine Presences" of the Sufis or the "gradation of existence" (*tashkk al-wujūd*) of Mullā Ṣadrā. An important part of *taḥqīq* is discerning the specific realm of existence to which any given reality belongs.

Metaphysics, cosmology, and spiritual psychology are all concerned with discovering and explicating the realities and the realms in which they exercise influence. It is well known that the Muslim philosophers, in contrast to specialists in transmitted knowledge, frequently investigated realities in ways that we associate with modern science. If this is so, it is because the philosophers were interested in understanding realities in every possible mode, not only in respect of their significance for transmitted knowledge. They looked upon the things that appear in the visible cosmos—the realm of "generation and corruption" (*kawn wa fasād*)—as embodied realities or as outward signs and marks of invisible realities. They understood that all realities derive from the First Reality and return back to it.

Everything that modern scientists study in their various disciplines pertains properly to "intellectual" knowledge, not "transmitted" knowledge. Scientists do not concern themselves with discovering the proper ways of acting as defined by transmitted knowledge. Rather, they

are bent upon discovering "realities," even if they have no concept of the levels and degrees of reality as traditionally understood.

According to the Islamic division of knowledge, to say that modern science investigates realities means that it pertains to the realm of "faith," which deals with the nature of reality on whatever level. Just as the Muslim philosophers and many of the Sufis wanted to understand the realities and their degrees—that is, they wanted to understand the very reality of God himself and all the implications of his reality for the universe—so also modern scientists are trying to grasp the objects of "faith," which are precisely the realities that can properly be known by the "intellect." They are, apparently at least, engaging in *taḥqiq*, not *taqlīd*. The significance of this fact for the tradition that Rumi represents will become clear after we look more carefully at the difference between *taḥqīq* and *taqlīd*.

* * *

The word *taḥqīq* does not really have an English equivalent. The semantic field of the word *ḥaqq* embraces the ideas of truth, reality, authenticity, rightness, appropriateness, validity, worthiness, justice, obligation, and incumbency. *Ḥaqq* is a Qur'anic divine name that is commonly used as a synonym for Allah in the Islamic languages. As a divine name, it means that God is the absolute *ḥaqq* in all senses of the word, and that anything other than God can at best be called *ḥaqq* in a derivative and relative sense.

Taḥqīq is the second form of the verb derived from *ḥaqq*. It means to establish what is true, right, proper, and appropriate. In the context of the philosophical sciences, it can mean to search out the reality of things, to investigate, verify, ascertain, and confirm. In Sufism, it had been discussed long before Rumi in the sense of finding the *ḥaqq* —the real, the true, and the appropriate—and then acting in conformity with its demands. Ibn 'Arabi singles out *taḥqīq* as the goal of the seeker on the path to God. As I have argued elsewhere, if we must choose a label to place on Ibn 'Arabi—a label that he would be willing to accept and that would do justice to his concerns—we can do no better than *muḥaqq iq*, "realizer," a person who has achieved *taḥqīq*.

Ḥaqq, it needs to remembered, is not simply a name of God. The word is used over 250 times in the Koran, in many cases referring to created things. Several verses speak of the universe in terms of its conformity with *ḥaqq* , such as, "It is He who created the heavens and the earth with the *ḥaqq* " (6:73).

Ibn 'Arabi often highlights the intimate correlation between *ḥaqq* and God's creative activity. He likes to quote the verse, "Our Lord is He who gave everything its creation, then guided" (20:50). He interprets this to mean that the created nature given by God to each thing is its *ḥaqq* —that is, its reality, truth, appropriateness, and worthiness. In other

words, everything has been created exactly as it should and must be. Moreover, God calls upon his servants to recognize the *ḥaqq* of things. Here Ibn 'Arabi quotes a well-known *ḥadīth*. In a typical version, it reads as follows:

> Your soul [*nafs*] has a *ḥaqq* against you, your Lord has a *ḥaqq* against you, your guest has a *ḥaqq* against you, and your spouse has a *ḥaqq* against you; so give to each that has a *ḥaqq* its *ḥaqq*.

In Ibn 'Arabi reading, the command "give to each that has a *ḥaqq* its *ḥaqq*" is universal. It is not limited to the specific instances mentioned in the various versions of this hadith. The Koran tells us repeatedly that God created all things with *ḥaqq*. Hence, all things have *ḥaqqs* against us, conditional upon our coming into some sort of relationship with them.

In speaking about the *ḥaqq* of things Ibn 'Arabi and others have in mind their objective truth and actual reality, but they also want to highlight the proper human response to that truth and reality. If we look at persons or things in terms of the role that God has given them in creation, each of them has a *ḥaqq*, a "right," an inherent claim on truth and reality and an appropriate role to play in the economy of the universe. But, if we look at ourselves vis-ō-vis those things, we see that they have *ḥaqqs* "upon us" (*'alaynā*), which is to say that we have responsibilities toward them. God, who is the Truth and Reality that establishes all things, demands that we respond to each thing appropriately and rightly.

The Koran often uses the word *ḥaqq* as the opposite of *bāṭil*, which can be translated as unreal, false, null, vain, and inappropriate, unworthy. Just as God has created all things in accordance with *ḥaqq*, so also, "We have not created heaven, earth, and what is between the two as *bāṭil*" (38:27). In other words, nothing in God's creation is unreal and false, nothing is unworthy and inappropriate. All things are just as they must be, according to God's standards of wisdom and justice.

Of course, there is one partial exception to the rule of universal appropriateness, and that is human beings. Although God has created human beings as they are, with all their faults and inadequacies, he has also given them free-will and responsibility, and he calls upon them to overcome their shortcomings. Inasmuch as they do not follow his call freely, they are not living up to their Lord's *ḥaqq* upon them. One of the several verses that refers to this point is 22:18: "Do you not see how to God prostrate themselves all who are in the heavens and all who are in the earth, the sun and the moon, the stars and the mountains, the trees and the beasts, and *many* of mankind?"

In other words, all things in the universe acknowledge God as *ḥaqq* and accept the responsibility of being what they are. By their very situation in the cosmos, they recognize God's truth and reality and give

him what is due to him. Only human beings, because of their peculiar situation, are able to refuse to give God, people, and things their *ḥaqqs.*

In order to give everything its haqq , people must discern the *ḥaqq.* They must not imagine that anything, in itself, is unreal, false, vain, and inappropriate. No creature is in fact *bāṭil.* It is human beings who see things wrongly and fail to discern their *ḥaqq.* The Koran tells us, "Do not garb the *ḥaqq* with the *bāṭil*, and do not conceal the *ḥaqq* knowingly" (2:42). In this way of looking at things, the difficulties, inanities, and falsities that people face in the natural world, society, and themselves go back to their inability to see things as they are. The teachings of Rumi and many other Sufis focus on overcoming this failure to discern the *ḥaqq*, which all too often derives from a wilful and conscious refusal to acknowledge God's unity and its consequences.

Rumi's teachings—as he often tells us—confirm the messages of the prophets, who address people in the measure of their understanding. "We have never sent a messenger except in the tongue of his people, so that he may explain to them" (Koran 14:4). By and large people are created in such a way that, at the beginning at least, they fail to see the *ḥaqq* of things and are not able to tell the difference between *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil.* The prophets provide discernment between true and false, right and wrong, *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil.* Everything in creation has a *ḥaqq*, but even Muhammad used to ask God to show him things as they are. The Koran itself tells him (and, by extension, everyone) to pray, "My Lord, increase me in knowledge" (20:114). It would be absurd to think that this means that people should ask God to increase their knowledge of physics, engineering, and sociology. What is at issue is knowledge of the way things really and of the proper ways of responding to our own existential situation.

God sent the prophets, then, to provide discernment between *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil* and to show how to act in conformity with the *ḥaqq.* As the Koran puts it, "God desires to realize the *ḥaqq* [*yuhiqqa'l-ḥaqq*] with His words" (8:7). The passage continues by saying that realizing the *ḥaqq* goes hand in hand with "nullifying the *bāṭil*" (*yubṭila'l- bāṭil*, 8:8). In other words, people must recognize that they understand things wrongly, and they also must strive to acquire a correct vision of the way things are.

Rectifying one's vision entails seeing things as transparent to the signs and activities of God. People must see the *noumena* that lie beyond the phenomena. They should strive to cross over from the outward to the inward, from the form to the meaning, from the surface to the interior, from the material object to the reality. This demands acknowledging that everything commonly perceived as *bāṭil* can only be understood properly when its *ḥaqq* is discerned The very fact that we often recognize

falsehood and wrongness proves that the *ḥaqq* is always there. As Rumi puts it,

> Nothing *bāṭil* appears without the *ḥaqq*—
> the fool takes the counterfeit because of the scent of gold.
> If there were no genuine currency in the world
> who would be able to use the counterfeit?. . .
> So, don't say that all these traps are *bāṭil*—
> *bāṭil* is the heart's trap because of the scent of *ḥaqq*. (II 2928-29, 33)

It perhaps needs to be pointed out that seeing things as they are is by no means the same as seeing all things as one. Sufis who aim at realization recognize that the vision of the oneness of all things can be a dangerous state of intoxication—even if it is better than the sobriety that fails to recognize that "Wherever you turn, there is the face of God" (Qur'an 2:115). Those Sufis and theologians who criticized the expression *waḥdat al-wujūd*, "the unity of being," were doing so because they understood it to signify a drunken vision that "All is He" (*hama ūst*) without the necessary discernment between *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil*. As Ibn 'Arabi often points out, one must see God's face in all things, but one must also know that every face of God is unique. God discloses his face in things with infinite diversity. It is foolhardy and dangerous to confuse the wrathful face of God with the merciful face, the misguiding face with the guiding face. Each of the infinite disclosures of God's face has a *ḥaqq*, and each demands a unique response from those who encounter it.

Rumi frequently speaks the language of intoxication, but he also reminds us that this is not a mind-numbing intoxication that negates the real differences among things. It is in fact a liberating vision of the true situation of things, and it only appears as intoxication when compared with the "sobriety" of worldly people, a sobriety that we nowadays often call "common sense" or "objectivity." The sober are stuck in their "partial intellects" (*'aql juzwī*) and unable to see with the light of God. In contrast, the drunk "are mounted like kings on the intellect of intellect" (III 2527).

In the traditional Islamic view as voiced by Rumi, the prophets and the saints saw God's face in all things, but they always differentiated between *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil*, right and wrong, appropriate and inappropriate. They knew that everything has a *ḥaqq* and manifests the Absolute *ḥaqq* , but they also knew that most people are overcome by *bāṭil* and cannot see the *ḥaqq* of things. Their own role was to instruct people to perceive and act correctly. They saw discernment as an utter necessity for progress on the path to God. As Rumi writes,

> He who says that all is *ḥaqq* is a fool,
> and he who says that all is *bāṭil* is a wretch. (II 2942)

In sum, for the Sufi tradition, *taḥqīq* or realization was the process of discerning between true and the false, real and unreal, worthy and unworthy. It demanded understanding the actual situation of things and giving everything exactly what is due to it in keeping with God's wisdom, compassion, and justice. It required differentiating between *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil* and overcoming the *bāṭil.* It necessitated seeing creation just as it is—as the absolute *ḥaqq* has created it, with everything in its proper and worthy place. It meant acting in the appropriate manner toward God, people, and things. It demanded recognizing the rights of all and fulfilling one's responsibilities toward God and others.

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Rumi uses the words *taḥqīq* (and its derivative *muḥaqqiq*) only a few dozen times. When he does, he employs it as the opposite of *taqlīd*, a word that he uses much more commonly. Simply put, *taqlīd* is to receive knowledge by hearsay. It is not to know the truth of something for oneself, but rather to accept something as true because someone says it is. It is to believe what one hears from teachers, parents, friends, experts, authorities, books, and so on. It is to take one's knowledge from others and not from the source of knowledge, which is the intelligence within us, the light of God.

Taqlīd is not necessarily a bad thing. In the juridical sense, as the opposite of *ijtihād*, it is necessary and beneficial. In the intellectual sense, it is a preparatory step for *taḥqīq.* One accepts knowledge of things from God and the prophets on the basis of hearsay. However, a sound intelligence that has heard from the prophets that "There is no god but God" knows intuitively and with certainty that this is the truth of things. Here the tradition often speaks of *fiṭrah*, the innate human capacity to discern the *ḥaqq.* But, as long as knowledge stays on the level of rote learning, as long as the *fiṭrah* does not awaken, one cannot see the *ḥaqq.*

It should be obvious that the goal of learning is not simply to gather information. Rather, it is to understand things correctly and to act appropriately. To do so one must understand all things relative to the Absolute *ḥaqq*, the Infinite Reality that has created them. In other words, the message encapsulated in the concept of *taḥqīq* is that nothing can be understood truly, rightly, and properly if it is not understand in relation to God, and no activity can be correctly performed if one does not perceive the *ḥaqq* of the situation. Explaining how it is possible to achieve such *taḥqīq* is precisely what the *Mathnawī* is all about.

Knowing and doing by way of imitation is the common lot of mankind. One cannot escape from imitation except by harnessing it to proper ends, that is, by imitating the prophets and saints, who have been shown the way to the Real. If one does this correctly and sincerely, one may be shown the way to realization—which, in any case, has many

degrees. What is certain is that true knowledge cannot be achieved without the help of a true teacher. Like other Sufis, Rumi insists upon the necessity of guides on the path to the Real. In one passage, he refers to the guides as "companions." He says,

> *You must receive so much influence from good companions*
> *that you draw water from the ocean that is not influenced.*
> *Know that the first influence to fall upon you is* taqlīd.
> *When it becomes continuous, it turns into* taḥqīq.
> *Until you reach taḥqīq, don't break off from the companions—*
> *don't break off from the shell until the drop becomes a pearl!*
> *(V 566-68)*

Realization in the full sense of the word is the knowledge and practice achieved by the prophets and the great saints. Imitation is the share of the rest of us, who think and act like children. As Rumi says,

> How can children on the path have the thoughts of Men?
> How can their imaginings be compared with true *taḥqīq*?
> Children think of nurses and milk,
> raisins and walnuts, crying and weeping.
> Imitators are like sick children,
> even if they offer subtle arguments and proofs. (V 1287-89)

Realization, then, is to know things as they really are and to act appropriately. Knowing things as they are is achieved by the innate capacity of the human spirit, a capacity that the tradition calls *'aql*, "intellect" or "intelligence." Imitators speak of things they have heard about, but realizers speak of things that they know firsthand. Imitators seek for knowledge from outside, but realizers find it bubbling up in their own hearts. When Rumi criticizes second-hand knowledge, he is telling us that everyone should try to find the seeing heart.

> *You have eyes, look with your own eyes.*
> *Don't look with the eyes of an uninformed fool.*
> *You have ears, listen with your own ears.*
> *Why be in pawn to the ears of blockheads?*
> *Make vision [naẓar] your practice, without taqlīd—*
> *think in accordance with your own intellect. (VI 3342-44)*

It might be asked why I am ignoring the primary role that Rumi accords to love. First, there is no need to remind anyone of love's importance in Rumi's teachings. And second, too many interpreters have taken advantage of its importance to belittle the role that Rumi gives to discernment and intelligence. For him, love and realized knowledge go hand in hand. One cannot love God without knowing the *ḥaqq* of things, and one cannot see things as they are without loving God. It is the fire of love that transmutes imitative knowledge into realized knowledge. Love, as Rumi says, "burns away everything except the everlasting Beloved"

(V 588). Love allows one to see the face of the Absolute *ḥaqq* in every relative *ḥaqq*.

> Love makes the wine of *taḥqīq* boil—
> love is the hidden *saki* of the truly sincere. (III 4742)

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It is curious that most people who talk about *taqlīd* nowadays do so only in the context of the transmitted sciences. Hence, they talk as if the issue were simply blind imitation of the religious teachers of the past. They focus on jurisprudence and the Sharī'ah, as if all the failings of Islamic societies can be solved by adjusting the law to fit the modern world. Rumi, in contrast, had no objections to the received Sharī'ah, even if he did not have any great respect for the ordinary run of 'ulama.

However this may be, Rumi was not talking about the "branches of the religion" (*furū'al-dīn*)—the commands and prohibitions that pertain to ritual and society and that are addressed in questions of *ijtihād*. Rather, as Rumi tells us right at the beginning of the *Mathnawī*, he was explaining what he calls "the roots of the roots of the roots of the religion" (*usūl usūl usūl al-dīn*)—right faith, right understanding, right intention, right love.

In order to understand things as they are and have correct faith in what one understands, one must grasp the nature of the absolute and infinite *ḥaqq* and discern its ramifications. As pointed out earlier, most of the ramifications of faith in God pertain to the *ghayb*, the invisible realm, which embraces pure intelligence, angelic light, the afterworld, and the unfolding of the soul's potential. Moreover, given that all concepts and ideas have a real mode of existence in the mind, even deception, illusion, and falsehood pertain to the realm of realities, though the light of *ḥaqq* has become thoroughly obscured.

Rumi, as we know, often ridicules the philosophers, but it would be a great mistake to assume that he was making a blanket criticism. His overall worldview is completely in keeping with that of the philosophical tradition. For example, he obviously agrees with the philosophers on the primacy of what they call *al-ḥaqq al-awwal*, "the First *ḥaqq*." He also shares with them the concept of *mabda' wa ma'ād*, "the Origin and the Return," the fact that all of reality emerges from the Absolute *ḥaqq*, descends to the level of the visible world, and then returns to God. His so-called "evolutionary" scheme of human development is found in several earlier philosophers, because it is simply an explanation of the stages that the soul traverses on the path of returning to God.

When Rumi does criticize philosophers, he has in mind those who rejected the necessity of prophecy or who denied the existence of the *ghayb* and accepted as true and real only what they could perceive with their own senses. This is obvious, for example, in his retelling of the story of the moaning pillar. This was a tree stump that the Prophet used

as a pulpit. When he changed his pulpit, the pillar began to moan. In explaining the significance of the story, Rumi criticizes those who deny miraculous events. In doing so, he refers to the "speech of all things," a phenomenon reported by many of the Sufis (and mentioned explicitly in Qur'an 41:21). He also alludes to the common Sufi teaching that rational understanding must be complemented by unveiling or vision with the eye of the heart.

The philosopher is a denier in his thoughts and opinions—
tell him to bang his head against the wall.
The speech of water, the speech of earth, the speech of clay—
the folk of the heart hear them all with their senses.
The philosopher who denies the moaning pillar
is a stranger to the senses of the saints.
He says that the ray of people's melancholia
brings many fantasies into their minds. . . .
When the heart of someone in this world has doubt and twisting
he is a hidden philosopher. (I 3280-81, 85)

If this is Rumi's definition of a philosopher—"someone whose heart has doubt [*shakk*] and twisting [*pīchīnī*]"—then surely there are few scholars and scientists today who would fail to qualify for the title.

Another passage shows that Rumi includes philosophy in the various clever sciences that people devise in order to investigate this world, manipulate physical objects, and divert themselves from searching for the *ḥaqq* of things.

Weaving robes embroidered with gold,
finding pearls from the bottom of the sea,
Doing the fine work of geometry and astronomy
and of the sciences of medicine and philosophy—
All these are connected with this world;
none shows the way to the top of the seventh heaven.
All these sciences are for building the stable,
which supports the existence of cows and camels.
In order to preserve the animal for a few days,
these dizzy fools name their sciences "mysteries." (IV 1515-19)

If Rumi were here today, he would see that the predominant forms of modern knowledge are incredibly obsessed with the sciences and technologies of the stable and madly intoxicated with "mysteries" that are in fact abstruse methods for garmenting the *ḥaqq* with *bāṭil*. The first characteristic of all such knowledge is that it ignores the *ḥaqq of* what is investigated, explained, and utilized. The *ḥaqq* of things can only be determined by placing things in the total context of reality, and this means understanding them as they truly are, not as they are

perceived in isolation from their roots in Being, or from their situation in the global context of the Origin and the Return.

It needs to be remembered that achieving *taḥqīq* is by no means simply a cognitive activity. One must see things as they are, but one must also "give to each that has a *ḥaqq* its *ḥaqq* ." All true and real knowledge of reality entails responsibility toward the Creator and his creatures. When the very act of knowing does not make moral and ethical claims upon the knower, this is proof that the knower has failed to grasp the truth of the situation and has garmented the *ḥaqq* with the *bāṭil*.

The fact that "the sciences of the stable" focus on *bāṭil* does not mean that they are false, untrue, unreal, and vain in every respect. It means that they are *bāṭil* in respect of situating things in their total context and in respect of human responsibilities toward God, other creatures, and the soul. In other words, such knowledge is truncated and superficial. It is extremely useful, of course, for getting things done—after all, the empirical validity of such sciences is not at issue. Nonetheless, the sciences and technologies of the stable cannot tell us if the things that get done should get done or if they should rather be left undone. Only by knowing the *ḥaqq of* something—what is rightfully due to it in the total context of the Real—can one answer the question of shoulds and oughts.

In other words, from the standpoint of Rumi and the tradition of *taḥqīq*, modern knowledge is inherently short-sighted. It is innately antagonistic to *taḥqīq*, which means that it is essentially conducive to *taqlīd*. I would go as far as to say that the most striking feature of modern science and learning is precisely that they are explicitly and proudly built upon *taqlīd*. They are cumulative by definition. There are no realizers, because there can be no realizers when the *ḥaqq* of things is not addressed. Modern knowledge depends entirely on information and theories provided by earlier scientists and scholars. It is not considered remotely possible that one can find the true reality of things in the knowing self, as *taḥqīq* demands. For post-modern scholarship, which follows modern thought to its inevitable conclusions, the very suggestion that there may be something worthy of the name *ḥaqq* is absurd.

One of the ironies of the Islamic world today is that the word used for scientific "research" is often *taḥqīq*. For Rumi, this is an utter inversion of language, because modern knowledge is based upon *taqlīd*, and its practitioners are imitators. The empirical knowledge that an individual scientist gains can only be based on the theories and experiments of earlier scientists. He may think he is verifying it and thereby verifying the findings of their predecessors, but his knowledge is built upon an initial misperception of the nature of things, the failure to grasp that phenomena can only be manifestations of the *noumena* that are known and determined by the Absolute *ḥaqq*. There can be no going back to the very origin of knowledge and understanding—which is the intellect or

heart that lies at the very root of the soul—because modern-day researchers seek for knowledge outside themselves. They have no possible access, as researchers, to the realm of the Real. They do not and cannot, as scholars and scientists, know the self that knows.

Taqlīd, then, is the primary characteristic of modern knowledge. Moreover, *taqlīd* has degrees, just as *taḥqīq* has degrees. A zoologist's *taqlīd* in his knowledge of fauna is less than that of a student reading a textbook, or an engineer learning from a television documentary. As for information drawn from the Internet, what can be said about "virtual" knowledge that is indistinguishable from illusion?

The point I want to make, then, is that once we look deeply into Rumi's teachings and get beyond the sentimentalities that are too often presented in his name, we will see that he has a rather harsh message for modern man. He is saying that not only the general public, but also the experts, scientists, specialists, and scholars, who are supposed to know what they are talking about, are in fact happily singing the song, *khar biraft u khar biraft u khar biraft.* The donkeys of all of us have been sold, and we are being entertained by the proceeds. We revel in our *taqlīd*, singing songs that we don't understand. We imagine that we know so much more than our benighted ancestors. We no longer grasp the significance of our own embodiment. We live in *bāṭil.* Not only do we fail to see the *ḥaqq of* the world and our own souls, but we even deny that anything at all can have a *ḥaqq.* We are satisfied with the information fed to us by schools, governments, and the media. We accept all our knowledge on the basis of hearsay, faith, and blind imitation. Our only attempt at *taḥqīq* is to prefer some sources over other sources (let's say, the *The Guardian* over the tabloids). We are completely unaware that we are *muqallids*—not imitators of the prophets and saints, but of other imitators like ourselves. It is only a matter of time before we wake up and begin to lament, *daw sad la'nat bar īn taqlīd bād*—"two hundred curses on that imitation!"

The goal of Rumi's path of realization is to know the *ḥaqq* of one's own selfhood and thereby to know the *ḥaqq of* God, society, and the world. It is to know these with a certainty that bubbles up from the source of all knowledge, the God-given intelligence that lies at the root of the soul.

I conclude with two quotations that suggest the nature of the path of *taḥqīq.* The first is from Rumi's *Fīhi mī fīhi.* He is talking about the knowledge of the experts.

> The worthy scholars of the time split hairs in the sciences. They have gained utmost knowledge and total comprehension of things that have nothing to do with them. What is important and closer to them than anything else is their own selfhood, but this they do not know.[3]

The second quotation is from the *Maqālāt* or "sayings" of Rumi's companion, Shams i Tabrīzī.

> These people study in the *madrasahs* because, they think, "We'll become teachers, we'll run *madrasahs.*" They say, "You must do good deeds." They talk of such things in these assemblies so that they can gain positions.
>
> Why do you study knowledge for the sake of worldly mouthfuls? This rope is for you to come out of the well, not for you to come out of this well and go into some other well.
>
> You must dedicate yourself to knowing this: Who am I? What substance am I? Why have I come? Where am I going? From whence is my root? At this moment what am I doing? Toward what have I turned my face?[4]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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[1] All poetry is cited from Nicholson's edition of the *Mathnawī*, my translation.
[2] Rumi employs the terms *ijtihād* and *mujtahid* about thirty times in the *Mathnawī*, but only once in a technical sense (III 3581). He typically uses *ijtihād* as a synonym for *jahd, mujāhada*, and *kūshish*—effort and struggle on the path to God—and he does not contrast it with *taqlīd.*
[3] *Fīhi mā fīhi*, edited by B. Furūzānfar (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1348/1969), p. 17.
[4] Shams-i Tabrīzī, *Maqālāt*, edited by Muhammad 'Alī Muwaḥḥid (Tehran: Khwārazmī, 1369/1990), p. 178.

Religion as Coming Home

Annotations at the Turn of the Millennia on Muhammad Iqbal's *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*

George F. Mclean

I am greatly honored by the invitation to deliver this 1997 lecture in honor of Mohammad Iqbal. He speaks archetypically for the people of Pakistan, yet his brilliant exploration of the beauty and majesty of the Islamic religious vision stands as a beacon for all believers wherever they may be.

Even more, I am grateful to Mohammad Iqbal for the example of his determination to respond with vigor and creativity to the great challenge to human meaning in our times, and to do so not by compromising religious vision, but precisely by plumbing in faith its richness.

Indeed, if there be truth in the common-place that the first millenium was focused upon God and the second upon man, then Iqbal may be the harbinger of our new millennium, pointing the way to a vision that reunites both.

But how can the past give birth to the future; in particular, how can earlier human vision, especially that of a person who has passed from this life, generate new insights deep enough to help elucidate what both transcends human life and makes it possible?

One thinks immediately that this might be done by adding from other traditions or subsequent times. But there is danger in this of constructing an odd creature, recalling the definition of the camel as a horse made by a committee. True growth may be catalyzed from without, but it must emerge from within, from the home, the hearth and the heart. Here a story, my story, might help to suggest how this could be done for the thought of Mohammad Iqbal.

Prologue: Story

In recent years it has become the custom to tell one's story as a way of shedding light upon the vital sources of one's insight and inspiration, what one values, and what one is really about in one's life. My story in philosophy is one of coming home by leaving home; hopefully it might help in reconstructing the Reconstruction.

As a young man I left homeland in order to undertake my education in the premier Catholic university, the Gregorian in Rome. There, the Jesuits labored mightily for the mystical number of seven years to

introduce me to the philosophy and theology of the Graeco-Roman Christian tradition, reading Augustine in the light of Plato and Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* in the light of Aristotle. This is one of the great traditions of religious thought; it is the one in which I was born as a philosopher and which I have always been grateful to know and to savor.

My doctorate in philosophy was a first step outward to the work of the Protestant Christian philosopher-theologian, Paul Tillich. I then remained to teach metaphysics and philosophy of religion at the Catholic University of America. These courses followed the Aristotelian model, beginning from the world and reasoning to god after the pattern of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and Thomas' five ways.

After some twelve years (another mystical number) it was time to step out of the Western Christian tradition as a whole. At the University of Madras I was most graciously received by Prof. T.N.P. Mahadevan who, with personal conviction and passionate commitment, introduced me to the Hindu metaphysical tradition, especially the non-dualist (*advaita*) tradition of the great Shnakara. This was a second decisive experience for me and one which, with the help of Prof. Balasubramaniam, I have renewed and extended whenever possible.

Surprisingly, however, in taking me away from home, these studies brought me home at a yet deeper and truer level. Opening the text of the sutras, the great systematic summa of the Hindu tradition, I found that rather than arriving at the divine life only at the end in the Aristotelian manner, it began with God: the first sutra announced the inquiry into Brahma which the second sutra described as "that from which, in which and into which all is."[1]

Suddenly, as with Marx's process of standing Hegel on his head, I found that my reading of Thomas' five ways to the existence of God was being inverted and, to my surprise, that it was thereby deepened and corrected. Reading the Sutras enabled me to grasp that the deeper sense of Thomas' "ways" was not to deduce the infinite from the finite (a real contradiction in terms), but to reconnect all such things to the source of their being and meaning. From whatever point of view – origin, level of perfection, or goal – God alone is self-explanatory; all else takes their origin from him, manifests his divine life, and searches for its fulfillment in transcending itself toward others and ultimately toward Him. Human life is thereby freed from egoistic self-enclosure and its corollary, mutual conflict. Instead, life is essentially open to, and reflects, that infinity of being and meaning in which all else is grounded.

The long road to the other side of the world had brought me finally home to the foundational truth of my own philosophical tradition.

Thus, our theme is: leaving home in order to return enriched, and not so much by what is found elsewhere, but especially by the deeper meaning one is enabled thereby to draw out of one's own tradition. This recalls the history of Abraham, our common father in faith. Here, I would like to investigate the possibilities of such an approach for the thought of Mohammad Iqbal following broadly his three stages: (a) faith or belief, (b) thought or rational understanding, and (c) personal discovery and assimilation.

ARCHEOLOGY OF HUMAN THOUGHT AS RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS AWARENESS

In our modern secularist context the foundational religious meaning of life has been extensively forgotten. Instead, the rare and relatively recent phenomenon of a world view rescinding from, or neutral to, the divine has come to be taken as the honest base line from which the religious issue should be considered. For Iqbal this quite out of the question, analogous to defining the mind on the basis of but one of its limited (analytic) processes. Hence, he does not go far in the first chapter of his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* before stating as its principle what the Sutras exemplified both in its text and in its structure, namely, that: "It is in the presence of the total infinite in the movement of knowledge that makes finite thinking possible."[2]

This paper will attempt to suggest three ways in which Iqbal's thesis might be supplemented: first, from the point of view of an archeology of religious thought in support of his conviction that thought is natively religious; second, by elements from systematic philosophy with a view to understanding the meaning this religious insight gives to human life; third, by drawing upon a phenomenology of religious consciousness to see how assimilation of this insight might open new ways of creating human comity for the millennium now dawning.

To begin, in a typically brief but pregnant aside Iqbal notes that "to the primitive man all experience was supernatural".[3] Rather than being simply a reference to dead facts from the past, this points to the total cumulative human experience regarding the essential importance of religion as manifested by human life. Moreover, it suggests the common ground the many cultures need as they begin to interact more intensively. It seems then the place to begin.

From earliest times human thought has always and everywhere had a sacred center. It is possible to track the evolution of this constant

awareness by relating it to the three dimensions of the human mind. The first is the external senses of sight, touch and the like by which one receives information from the external world. The second is the internal senses of imagination and memory by which one assembles the received data in a manner which enables it to represent the original whole from which the various senses drew their specific data, to represent these and other data in various combinations, or to recall this at a later time. Finally, beyond the external and internal senses is the intellect by which one knows the nature of things and judges regarding their existence.[4]

Not surprisingly, upon examination it appears that the actual evolution of human awareness of the sacred follows this sequence of one's natural capacities for knowledge. In all cases it is intellectual knowledge that is in play, for religious awareness concerns not the characteristics or shapes of sensible objects, but existence and indeed the one who gave his name as "I am Who Am". But this was articulated successively, first in terms of the external senses in the totemic stage of thought, then in terms of the internal sense in the mythic period, and finally in properly intellectual terms as the origin of philosophy or science.[5]5

To follow this evolution it should be noted that for life in any human society as a grouping of persons there is a basic need to understand oneself and one's relation to others. It should not be thought that these are necessarily two questions, rather than one. They will be diversely formalized in the history of philosophy, but prior to any such formalization, indeed prior even to the capacity to formalize this as a speculative problem, some mode of lived empathy rather than antipathy must be possible. Plato later worked out formally and in detail that the unity of the multiple is possible on the basis of something that is one, but the history of social life manifests that present in the awareness of the early peoples and according to their mode of awareness there always has been some one reality in terms of which they understood all to be related.

TOTEMIC THOUGHT

The earliest understanding by peoples of themselves and their unity with others and with nature was expressed in terms of the objects of the external senses, such as an animal or bird: peoples spoke of themselves by simple identity with the animal or bird which was the totem of their clan. The primitive or foundational mode of self-understanding was the totem. Levy-Bruhl expresses this in a law of participation: Persons saw themselves not merely as in some manner like or descendent from their totem, but instead asserted directly: "I am lion." In these terms they

founded their identity, considered themselves bound to all others who had the same totem, and understood by analogy of their totem with that of other tribes the relations between their two peoples for marriage and the like.[6]

Moreover, the totem, in turn, was not simply one animal among other, but was in a sense limitless: no matter how many persons were born to the tribe the potentiality of the totem was never exhausted. Further, it was shown special respect, such as not being sold, used for food or other utilitarian purposes which would make it subservient to the individual members of the tribe or clan. Whereas other things might be said to be possessed and used, the totem was the subject of direct predication: one might say that he had a horse or other animal, but only of the totem would one say that he is, e.g., lion.

The totem then was the unique limitless reality in terms of which all particular people and things had their being and interrelation. It was the sacred center of individual and community life in terms of which all had meaning and cohesion. It made possible the sense of both personal dignity and interpersonal relations, which were the most important aspects of human life. This it did with a sense of direct immediacy that would be echoed, but never repeated, in subsequent stages of more formally religious thought.

Whether this be seen as religious or proto-religious, what is shows is that religion is not something added to a secular universe, but the basic and essential insight of even the simplest forms of human community. The issue then is not whether there be room for religion alongside public life or how to protect one from the other, but how religion functions as the root of human meaning and community.

MYTHIC THOUGHT

The totem was able to provide for unity and meaning while the life of all members of the tribe remained similar. But its manner of expressing unity became insufficient as society became more specialized and differentiated. The bonds between members of the tribe came to depend not merely upon similarity and sameness, but upon the differentiated capabilities of, e.g., hunters, fishers and eventually farmers. With this ability to be both united and differentiated came an appreciation as well of the special distinctiveness of the sacred center above the many individuals of which it was the principle and center. What in totemic thought previously had been stated simply by identity (I am lion) could now be appreciated as greater than and transcending the members of the tribe. This is reflected in the development of priesthood, rituals and

symbols to reflect what was no longer seen simply as one's deepest identity.[7]

Such a reality could no longer be stated in terms corresponding to the external senses, but rather was figured by the imagination. The terms drawn originally from the senses now were reconfigured in forms that expressed life above men and which stood as the principle of their life. Such higher principles, as the more knowing and having a greater power of will, would be personal; and as transcendent persons they would be called gods.

It would be incorrect then to consider this, as did Freud and Marx, to be simply a projection of human characteristics. On the contrary, the development of the ability to think in terms shaped by the imagination released human appreciation of the principle of life from the limitations of animals, birds and other natural entities available to the external senses and allowed the transcendence of the principle of unity to be expressed in a more effective manner. This was not to create the sense of transcendence; rather allowed the unique and essential foundation of human meaning of which Iqbal spoke to find new expression in terms of evolving human capabilities.

Of this the *Theogony*,[8] written by Hesiod (ca. 776 BC), is especially indicative. Because the gods stated the reality of the various parts of nature, when Hesiod undertook to state how these were interrelated he in effect articulated the unity and interrelation of all in God, which is the basic sense of religion.

His work has a number of important characteristics. First, it intends to state the highest possible type of knowledge. Thus, it begins with an invocation to the Muses to provide him with divine knowledge: "These things declare to me from the beginning, ye Muses who dwell in the house of Olympus."[9] Secondly and correspondingly, it is concerned with the deepest issues, namely, the origin and unity of all things: "Tell me which of them came first" he asked, and then proceeded to a poetic delineation of the most important religious issues, from the justification of the divine reign (later named "theodicy" by Leibniz) to the understanding of evil.[10] Thirdly, because it was written as the period of purely mythic thought was drawing to a close – within two centuries of the initiation of philosophy in Greece – Hesiod was able to draw upon the full resources of the body of Greek mythology, weaving the entire panoply of the gods into the structure of his poem. He collected and related the gods not externally in a topographical or chronological sequence, but in terms of their inner reality and real order of dependence.

Thus, when in the theogony he responds to the question: "how, at the first, gods and earth came to be," his ordering of the gods weds theogony and cosmogony to constitute a unique mythical understanding regarding the unity and diversity of reality.

The order of the parts of the universe is the following. The first to appear was Chaos: "Verily at the first Chaos came to be." Then came earth: "but next wide-bosomed Earth the ever sure foundation of all," and starry Heaven: "Earth first bare starry Heaven, equal to herself." From Earth, generally in unison with Heaven, were born Oceanus and the various races of Cyclopes and gods, from whom, in turn, were born still other gods such as Zeus and the races of men.

The understanding of the unity of reality expressed by this poem is the very opposite of a random gathering of totally disparate, limited and equally original units. On the contrary, the relation between the gods, and hence between the parts of nature they bespeak is expressed in terms of procreation. Hence, every reality is appreciated as related positively to all others in its genetic sequence.

This relatedness of things does not depend upon a later and arbitrary decision, but is equally original with their very reality; indeed, it is their reality. Neither is it something which involves only certain aspects of the components of the universe: it extends to their total actuality. This includes actions: Rhea, for example, appeals to her parents for protection from the acts of her husband. Cronos, against his children. Hence, the understanding which the poem conveys is that of a unity or relation as original as the reality of things as on which their distinctive character and actions depend.

This unity is understood to be by nature prior to diversity as understood by the genetic structure in which each god proceeds from the union of an earlier pair of gods, while all such pairs are descendents of the one original pair, Earth and Heaven. Further, the procreation of the gods proceeds from each of these pairs precisely as united in love, under the unitive power of Eros who is equally original with heaven and earth.

From what has been said we can conclude that unity pervades and precedes gods and men. All the traced back to Earth and Heaven as the original pair from whose union, under the impetus of Eros, all is generated. But what is the relation between Heaven and Earth? This question is at the root of the issue of unity as expressed in mythic terms. It promises to be able to take us to a still deeper and more properly religious understanding if we return to the text and use the proper etymological tools.

The text states the following sequence: Chaos, Earth, Heaven. Unfortunately, since the Stoics, Chaos has come to mean disorder and mindless conflict or collision. Aristotle, however, in his Physics referred to chaos as empty sapce (*topos*)[11] Etymologically, the term can be traced through the root of the Greek term '*casko*' to the common Indo-European stem, 'gap'. Using this stem as a sonar signal, as it were, in order to sound out mythic thought across the broad range of the Indo-European peoples, the term has been found to express a gaping abyss at the beginning of time as for example the derivative 'ginungagap' in Nordic mythology.[12] Kirk and Raven confirm this analysis and conclude that 'chaos' meant, not a state of confusion or fonflict, but an open and perhaps windy space which essentially is between boundaries.[13]

Returning to the text of the *Theogony* in this light, it will be noted that it does not say "In the beginning" or speak directly of a state prior to Chaos, but begins with Chaos: "At first Chaos came to be". But there is no suggestion that Chaos was the original reality; on the contrary, the text is explicit that chaos came to be: *e toi men protista Chaos genet.*"[14] Further, Chaos is a space to which boundaries are essential. These, it would seem, are the gods which the text states just after Chaos, namely, Earth and its equal, Heaven. These are not said to have existed prior to chaos and to have been brought into position in order to constitute the boundaries of the 'gap'; rather, they are said somehow to follow upon or arrange on the basis of chaos.

Thus, Kirk and Raven understand actively the opening verses of the body of the text, namely, "Verily at the first Chaos came to be, but next wide-bosomed Earth … and Earth first bore starry Heaven equal to herself," to express the opening of a gap or space, which thereby gives rise to Heaven and Earth as its two boundaries.[15]

For its intelligibility, this implies: (a) that an undifferentiated unity precedes the gap, and (b) that by opening or division the first contrasting realities, namely, Heaven and Earth, were constituted. That is, on the basis of the gap one boundary, Heaven, is differentiated from the other boundary, Earth: by the gap the boundaries identically are both constituted and differentiated as contraries. As all else are derivatives of Chaos, Earth and Heaven in the manner noted above, it can be concluded that the entire differentiated universe is derivative of an original undifferentiated unity which preceded Chaos.

It would be premature, however, to ask of the mythic mind whether this derivation took place by material or efficient causality; that question must await the development of philosophy. But the original reality itself

is not differentiated; it is an undivided unity. As such it is without name, for the names we give reflect our sense perceptions, which concern not what is constant and homogeneous but the differentiated bases of the various sense stimuli. What is undifferentiated is not only unspoken in fact but unspeakable in principle by the language of myth, which depends essentially upon the imagination.

Nonetheless, though it is unspeakable buy the mythic mind itself, reflection can uncover or reveal something of that undifferentiated reality which the *Theogony* implies. We have, for instance, noted its reality and unity. This lack of differentiation is not a deficiency, but a fullness of reality and meaning from which all particulars and contraries are derived. It is unspeakable because not bounded, limited and related after the fashion of one imaged contrary to another. This is the transcendent fullness that is at the heart of the Hindu *advaita* or non-dual philosophy; it is also the total infinite to which Iqbal referred as that which makes finite thinking possible.

It is the source of that which is seen and spoken in our language, which is based in the imagination and which Hindu thought refers to as the world of names and forms. Further, it is the source, not only whence the differentiated realities are derived, but of the coming forth itself of these realities. This is reflected in two significant manners. First, Eros, which itself is said to come from chaos, is the power which joins together in procreative union the pairs of gods, thereby reflecting the dynamic manifestation and sharing character of the undifferentiated reality.

Negatively, this is indicated also by the acts which the *Theogony* describes as evil. For example, it says that "Heaven rejoiced in his evil doing", namely, hiding away his children in a secret place of Earth as soon as each was born, and not allowing them to come into the light. Cronos is termed "a wretch" for swallowing his children. In each case evil is described as impeding the process by which new realities are brought into existence. This implies that its opposite, the good, involves essentially bringing forth the real. The undifferentiated unity is origin of the multiple and differentiated; in terms we shall encounter below, it is participative.

Finally, it can be seen that all the progeny, that is, all parts of the universe and all humans, are born into the unity of a family. This traces its origin, not to a pair of ultimately alien realities and certainly not to a human chaos as conflict, but to the undifferentiated Unity. Just as there is no autogenesis, there is no unrelated reality. It would seem, then, that verses 118-128 of the hymn imply a reality which is one, undifferentiated

and therefore unspeakable, but productive of the multiple, generous and sharing. For the Greek mythic mind then, beings are more one than many, more related than divided, more complementary than contrasting.

As a transformation of the earlier totemic structure, mythic understanding continues the basic totemic insight regarding the related character of all things predicated upon a unity and fullness of meaning. By thinking in terms of the gods, however, myth is able to add a number of important factors. First, quantitatively the myth can integrate, not only a certain tribe or number of tribes, but the entire universe. Second, qualitatively it can take account of such intentional realities as purpose and fidelity. Third, while implying the unitive principle expressed in totemic thought with shocking directness ("I am lion"), it adds the connotation of its unspeakable and undifferentiated but generous character.

The expression of all this in terms of the forms available to the mythic internal sense of imagination had its temptations. These were pointed out by Xenophanes, who noted that by the time of Homer and Hesiod a perfervid imagination had gone from expressing the transcendence of the gods to attributing to them as well the many forms of evil found among men;[16] the very principles of meaning and value could point as well to their opposites. Thinking in terms of the imagination was no longer sufficient and the intellect needed to proceed in its own terms beyond sense and imagination, to enable the deeper sense of the gods and of nature to be expressed and defended against confusion and corruption. As the mind proceeded to operate in properly intellectual terms, rather than though the images of mythic thinking, science and philosophy replaced myth as the basic mode of human understanding.

First Philosophy

Once begun, philosophy made spectacularly rapid progress. Within but a few generations, the human intellect had worked out a structure of the physical world using basic categories of hot and cold, wet and dry available to the external senses, along with mechanisms of vortex motion.[17] Mathematical reason worked with the internal senses to lay down the basic theorems of geometry.[18] In brief, by developing properly intellectual terms the Greeks elaborated with new and hitherto unknown precision insights regarding physical reality.

But that had never been the root human issue. Totemic and mythic thought were not merely ways of understanding and working with nature, although they did that as well. Fundamentally they concerned the metaphysical and religious issues of what it meant to be, the divine basis

of life, and the religious terms in which it needed to be lived. After the work of others in conceptualizing the physical and mathematical orders, Parmenides was able to take up the most basic questions of life and being in properly intellectual metaphysical terms.

First, he bound the work of the intellect directly to being: "It is the same thing to think and to be" (fragment 3).[19] Hence, the requirements of thinking would manifest those of being. Second, he contrasted being with its opposite, nonbeing, as something to nothing at all (fragment 2). This principle of non-contradiction was a construct of the mind; like pi in geometry it was something good to think with, for it enabled the mind to reflect upon the requirements of both being and mind so as to avoid anything that would undermine their reality.

Speaking still in a mythic language, the Proemium of Parmenides' famous poem described a scene in which he was awakened by goddesses and sent in a chariot drawn by a faithful mare along the arching highway that spans all things. In this process he moved from obscurity to light, from opinion to truth. There, the gates were opened by the goddess justice as guardian of true judgements and he was directed to examine all things in order to discern the truth.

Parmenides then images himself proceeding further along the highway[20] till he comes to a fork with one signpost pointing toward being as essentially beginning. Here, Parmenides must reason regarding the implications of such a route. If "to begin" means to move from nonbeing or nothingness to being, were "to be" to include "to begin", that would mean that being included within its very essence nonbeing or nothingness. There would then be no difference between being and nothing; being would be without meaning; the real would be nothing at all. If, conversely, from this notion of beginning such nonbeing is removed, then it emerges as essentially not beginning, but eternal. This is the first requirement of being: the possibility of taking the fork which would have being as essentially beginning is excluded; being is essentially eternal and all that begins can only derive therefrom.

The chariot then moves along the highway of being, and the procedure is analogous at the two subsequent forks in the road where the signposts tempt one to consider being as changing and multiple respectively. Each of these, Parmenides reasons, would place nonbeing within being itself, thereby destroying its very character as being. Nonbeing is contained in the notion of change, in as much as a changing being is no longer what it had been and not yet what it will become. But if such nonbeing pertained to the essence of being, it would destroy

being. When, however, nonbeing is removed, then being emerges as unchanging. Similarly, non-being is essential to the notion of multiplicity, inasmuch as this requires that one being not be the other. When, however, nonbeing is removed what emerges is one. These then are the characteristics of being: it is infinite and eternal, unchanging and one.

Such being transcends the multiple and changing world in which we live: it is in a manner more perfect than could possibly be appreciated in the graphic terms of the internal senses of imagination, which defined the nature of human capabilities in the stage of myth.

In this way Parmenides discerned the necessity of absolute, eternal and unchanging being – whatever be said of anything else. Neither being nor thought makes sense if being is the same as nonbeing, for then to do, say or be anything would be the same as not doing, not saying or not being. As the real is irreducible to nothing and being is irreducible to nonbeing – as it must be if there is any thing or any meaning whatsoever – then being must have about it the self-sufficiency expressed by Parmenides' notion of the absolute One.

One can refuse to look at this issue and focus upon particular aspects of limited realities. But if one confronts the issue of being, it leads to the Self-sufficient as the creative source of all else. Without this all limited beings would be radically compromised – not least, man himself. It is not surprising, therefore, that Aristotle would conclude the search for the nature of being in his *Metaphysics* with a description of divine life.[21]

The issue then is not how the notion of the divine entered human thought; it has always been there, for without that which is One and Absolute in the sense of infinite and self-sufficient, man and nature would be at odds: human king would lack social cohesion. Indeed, thinking would be the same as not thinking just as being would be the same as nonbeing.

From the above archeology of human thought in its totemic, mythic and first philosophical stages, it can be concluded with Iqbal that it has been religious insight regarding the Absolute which has made finite thinking possible. Leaving home and going deeply into the past thus brings us home to reconstruct the deep truth of our faith regarding knowledge, namely, not only that it can also be about religion, but that in essence thought is itself the religious reconstitution of all in God: this is what knowledge most fundamentally is.

There are two implications of this archeology which I would like to cite here. The first concerns the relation of a people to the message of a

prophet. As the basis of the human self understanding of the different cultures is essentially religious, a divine revelation through a great prophet comes not as alien and conflictual, but as a special divine help to appreciate, purify and strengthen a culture. The message of the prophet evokes the divine life which lies within; it enables each people to plunge more deeply into the infinite ground of their cultural traditions and to bring out more of its meaning for their life. Indeed, confidence (etymologically rooted in "faith") and commitment to one's tradition as grounded in the infinite means precisely expecting it to have even more to say then a people has yet articulated. In this light, the Prophet's voice is a call to delve anew into one's tradition, to bring out more of its meaning for one's times and to live this more fully. This is a voice to which one can respond fully and freely.

In this sense I hope you will permit me to take issue with Iqbal's seemingly overly Darwinian description of the first period of religious life as a form of discipline which the individual or a whole people must accept as an unconditional command without andy rational understanding of the ultimate meaning and purpose of the command. This attitude may be of great consequence in the social and political history of a people, but is not of much consequence insofar as the individual's inner growth and expansion are concerned.[22]

The archeology of human thought suggests that the response of a people to the message of the prophet is more precisely a renewal and reaffirmation of their deep self-understanding. This is truly a homecoming in whose very essence lies the freedom of the peace one experiences in returning home after a long and confusing day. But I suspect that Iqbal would not disagree with this, for in reality it is an application to culture of what he concluded regarding thought as being made possible by the presence therein of the total infinite,[23] and even regarding the natural order, namely, that "there is no such thing as a profane world …. All is holy ground," citing the Prophet: "The whole of this earth is a mosque."[24]

A second implication can be of special importance in these times of intensifying communication and interaction between peoples. If the future is to hold not Huntington's conflict of civilizations, but their cooperation in a shrinking world, then it is important to see how the civilizations deriving from prophets and religious traditions can relate one to another. Hermeneutics can be helpful here with its suggestion that in order to delve more deeply it is helpful to hear not only reformulations of what we ourselves say in our own horizon, but new formulations from

other traditions regarding the basically shared truths of our divine origin and goal. As Iqbal is supported by an archeology of knowledge indicating that all knowledge is grounded in the divine, then we can expect that religious texts from the traditions of other great prophets will evoke new echoes from the depths of our own tradition. In this light interchange with other traditions comes not as a threat. Rather, cultural interchange can enable us to make our pilgrimages, each more unerringly along our own path, to the one holy mountain[25] which Iqbal refers to as the total absolute. Other forms of cooperation can, and indeed must, be built upon this.

Systematic Philosophy and the Religious Reconstruction of Human Person

There is another implication of arriving at Iqbal's sense of the essentially religious character of thought through an archeology of human thinking. This relates to his concern to protect religion against the tendency of analytic rationality to reduce the mind to its empirical content and to bind it to the material, or at least to what could clearly and distinctly be conceived by the human mind. Iqbal's approach was to show the limited character of such a view, not only in terms of its objects, but especially as a description of thought itself. He did this by majestically describing the broad (religious) reaches of the mind. For this he reinterpreted time, light and freedom in ways that echoed the thought of such of his contemporaries as Bergson, Whitehead, Alexander, Royce and Einstein, whose thought he much enriched with the cultural resources of the Islamic tradition. This is a special power and grace of his thought.

There is here a significant contrast to al-Ghazali whose *Munqidh* most highly admire (and indeed am in the process of annotating and publishing). In describing his itinerary to the mystic life al-Ghazali considered thought to be limited and therefore in the end inadequate or even subversive for religious life. This implied a rupture of thought and faith which even Averroes (Ibn Rushd) was not able to repair. In our times this has become particularly worrisome, for the Enlightenment has radicalized this gulf by reducing all thought rigorously to contrary and hence limited concepts: the modern world in which we live has been built in these terms. It should bot be surprising, indeed it is a point of honor, that Islam always has stood firmly against such "enlightenment". Some have reacted by rejecting modernity in bloc – even at times violently and self destructively. Iqbal's response is different. He is eloquent in his exposition of the essential importance of limited,

categorial thought, precisely in its own sphere, and reaches out to welcome the positive contributions of modernity.

But he gives voice to infinitely richer domains of thought grounded in the divine. Thus the divine appears as it were dimly as the background of every limited human encounter; human life becomes theonomous and can be seen in its transcendent significance. For Iqbal when related to their infinite ground science and technology become concrete manifestations and articulations of the meaning of God in time.

But as he warms to this subject in his *Reconstruction* Iqbal edges ever closer to that mystical vision of Hallaj in which all is so suffused with divine light and meaning that man and nature seem almost divine. Iqbal reacts against any identification of the two and with the full force of the Islamic tradition of fidelity would answer: 'Never; there is but one God and no other!'

In this lies the contemporary drama of Islam as of all religious visions, for man today is intent upon an answer to the question of "how he is to be understood?" Note this is not the question of how God could create our world of finite beings, The answer to that question is hidden in divine love which we can seek to acknowledge (as we shall suggest below), but never to understand in itself, for such understanding is the divine life itself. Rather, the question is how, in the light of this revelation of God's love, we can overcome the hubris by which the human ego claims to be absolute, and yet understand the reality of the human person as having the autonomy required for the responsibility and creativity required in order to survive and flourish. How can men and women come truly alive so as to recognize themselves fully as images of God, yet not be God; and moreover in the image of their creator to undertake a creative exercise of their proper freedom and responsibility.

This is a point of high metaphysics on which I would like to suggest a way to carry forward Iqbal's work and, after the image of leaving in order to return.

We all know and greatly admire the work of such Islamic scholars as al-Farabi, Avicenna and Averroes, who drew upon and developed the Greed philosophical heritage; it is a part of our common heritage which was interrupted in Islam. After the interchange between Ghazali and Averroes this Graceo-Islamic effort was broadly abandoned. In the metaphysical quest the relay was passed to another religious tradition, that of the Western Christian philosophers of the high Middle Ages: Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and their schools.

Iqbal suggests two reasons why the path of Aristotle and Averroes was found to be finally inimical to the Islamic vision. First, the notion of an immortal agent intellect stood in the way of the value and destiny of the human ego[26] and hence of one's full personal spirituality and responsibility; and second the orientation to high metaphysical theory diverged from the concrete inductive orientation of Islam.[27] But the concrete point in time at which Greek thought was abandoned was that of the dispute over the agent intellect, and hence it seems best to begin with this issue.

Here one could wonder whether the Graeco-Islamic tradition was abandoned just a bit too soon, for in the Christian tradition of scholarship Aquinas's religious response was imminent and would enable to Greek tradition to evolve into modern thought. In view of this a project of reconstruction in Islam could be particularly interested in that work of Thomas Aquinas as part of its effort to discover how Islam can be truly at home in modern times and creative in modern terms. Any such insights would, in turn, be of great interest to all other religious traditions, each of which is struggling with this issue each in its own way.

Hermeneutics tells us that in approaching an issue we need a question in order to focus our attention and be able to draw new insight. Iqbal provides the questions we should ask for the project of religious reconstruction; they concern existence and its implication for creation and the religious sense of man.

Existence and the Reconstruction of Being in God

Iqbal sees as key to religious reconstruction overcoming the relatively passive sense of reality found in the formal order characteristic of the Platonic strain of modern rationalism. In this light, limited realities passively replicate the archetypal forms or ideas, but add nothing new; finite reality is drained of its vitality and reduced to shadow. Instead, Iqbal calls for a turn to the active character of reality. This suggests that we look in Christian philosophy for the emergence of being as existence. It was indeed this which characterized the thought of Thomas and gave it such prestige in Christian circles.

Although Greek philosophy grew out of an intensive mythic sense of life in which all was a reflection of the will of the gods, nonetheless, it presupposed matter always to have existed. As a result, the focus of its attention and concern was upon the forms by which matter was determined to be of one type rather than another. For Aristotle, physical or material things in the process of change from one form to another

were the most manifest realities and his philosophizing began therefrom. This approach to philosophy first thought sense encounte4rs with physical being corresponded well to our human nature as mind and body, and could be extended to the recognition of divine life. But Iqbal wants more; for him "it is in fact the presence of the infinite in the movement of knowledge that makes finite thinking possible." The Greek philosophical awareness of what it meant to be real would need considerable enrichment in order to appreciate the foundational significance for human thought of its grounding in a fully transcendent and infinite Being.

It was just here that the development of the prophetic Judeo-Christian context had an especially liberating effect upon philosophy. By applying to the Greek notion of matter the Judeo-Christian heritage regarding the complete dominion of God over all things, the Church Fathers opened human consciousness to the fact that matter, too, depended for its reality upon God. Thus, before Plotinus, who was the first philosopher to do so, the Fathers already had noted that matter, even if considered eternal, stood also in need of an explanation of its origin.[28]

This enabled philosophical questioning to push beyond the form, nature of kind to existence and, hence, to deepen radically the sense of reality. If what must be explained is no longer merely the particular form or type of beings, but matter as well, then the question becomes not only how things are of this form or that kind, but how they exist rather than not exist. In this way awareness of being evolved beyond change or form;[29] to be real would mean to exist and whatever is related thereto. Quite literally, "To be or not to be" had become the question.

By the same stroke, our self-awareness and will were deepened dramatically. They no longer were restricted to focusing upon choices between various external objects and modalities of life – the common but superficial contemporary meaning of what Adler terms a circumstantial freedom of self-realization, nor even to Kant's choosing as one ought after the manner of an acquired freedom of self-perfection; this remains within the context of being as nature or essence. The freedom opened by the conscious assumption and affirmation of one's own existence was rather a natural freedom of self-determination with responsibility for one's very being.[30]

One might follow the progression of this deepening awareness of being by reflecting upon the experience of being totally absorbed in the particularities of one's job, business, farm or studies – the prices, the colors, the chemicals –and then encountering an imminent danger of

death, the loss of a loved one or the birth of a child. At the moment of death, as at the moment of birth, the entire atmosphere and range of preoccupations in a hospital room shifts dramatically, being suddenly transformed from tactical adjustments for limited objectives to confronting existence, in sorrow or in joy, in terms that plunge to the center of the whole range of meaning. Such was the effect upon philosophy when the awareness of being developed from being merely this or that kind of reality, to the act of existence in contrast to non-existence, and hence to human life in all its dimensions and, indeed, to life divine.

Cornelio Fabro goes further. He suggests that this deepened metaphysical sense of being in the early Christian ages not only opened the possibility for a deeper sense of freedom, but itself was catalyzed by the new sense of freedom proclaimed in the religious message. That message focused not upon Plato's imagery of the sun at the mouth of the cave from which external enlightenment might be derived, but upon, the eternal Word or Logos, through and according to which all things received their existence, and which enlightened their consciousness life.

> In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God.
>
> The same was in the beginning with God.
>
> All things were made by him: and without him was made nothing that was made.
>
> In him was life, and the life was the light of men.
>
> And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it.
>
> ......
>
> That was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world.[31]

Thus the power of being bursts into time through creator and prophet:

- It directs the mind beyond the ideological poles of species and individual interests, and beyond issues of place or time as limited series or categories;
- It centers, instead, upon the unique reality of the person as a participation in the creative power of God, a being bursting into existence, which is and which cannot be denied;
- It rejects being considered in any sense as nonbeing, or being treated as anything less than its full reality;

- It is a self or in Iqbal's term and 'ego', affirming its own unique actuality and irreducible to any specific group identity; and
- It is image of God for whom life is sacred and sanctifying, a child of god for whom to be is freely to dispose of the power of new life in brotherhood with all mankind.[32]

It took a long time for the implications of this new appreciation of existence and its meaning to germinate and find its proper philosophic articulation. Over a period of many centuries the term 'form' was used to express both kind or nature and the new sense of being as existence. As the distinction between the two was gradually clarified, however, proper terminology arose in which that be which a being is of this or that kind came to be expressed by the term 'essence,' while the act of existence by which a being simply is was expressed by 'existence' (*esse*).[33] The relation between the two was under intensive, genial discussion by the Islamic philosopher when their Greek tradition in philosophy was abrogated.

This question was resolved soon thereafter in the work of Thomas Aquinas through a real distinction which rendered most intimate the relation of the two principles as act and potency and opened a new and uniquely active sense of being. This is not to say that ghazali was wrong in opposing Averroes or that Islam was wrong in choosing the side of Ghazali in this dispute. Aqu9inas also had to overcome the Latin Averroits in the course of his intellectual battles in Paris. But Iqbal's intuition of the need to proceed in terms of being as active suggests the importance of this juncture in the history of thought. With this the Christian metaphysical tradition went on to develop technical tools important for understanding human life in this world.

BEING AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MAN IN GOD

This focus upon being as active had profound implications for the understanding of man in God. It had crucial importance first for the sense of the divine itself. In Plato's more passive vision the divine as active would appear below the idea of the Good or the One as the object of contemplation. Taking being in a more active sense allowed Aristotle to think of divine life as an active thinking on thinking.

Iqbal and the Islamic tradition rightly feared that this notion, if a product of human reasoning, would be essentially limited and limiting. This is his incisive and trenchant critique of the cosmological and other modes of reasoning to God. Certainly reasoning in terms of limited and limiting forms and categories would be subject to this critique, but as just

noted these were argued rather in terms of existence, which is affirmation without negation and hence without limitation.

Nevertheless, Iqbal makes a key contribution to any appropriate reading of a systematic Christian philosophy by reminding one that the notion of God is not a product of human reasoning. Rather, as seen above through the archeology of human knowledge, the absolute is there as the center of human life in its earliest totemic mode; it flowers as humankind achieves a mythic mode of thought; and it is the beginning of the founding of Greek metaphysical thought by Parmenides. According to Augustine's dialectic of love, it is not we who first loved God, but He who first loved us: from him come life and light and love.

In this light the classical "five ways" to God have been largely misunderstood. They are not proofs for the existence of God, much less ways of constructing the reality of God. Instead they are ways of binding back to God (re-ligio as one of the etymologies of 'religion') all things, whether considered in terms of their origin, their level of being, or their goal, purpose or meaning. Despite his critique of the cosmological arguments, Iqbal seems to intuit this when he writes that their true significance will appear only "if we are able to show that the human situation is not final."[34]

In this light, one need not fear that an affirmation of man whether by personal freedom or technological means will be detrimental to religion. Rather human life becomes the proclamation of God's wisdom, power, love and providence. On this basis Thomas proceeds systematically to shed the requirement not only of an eternal agent intellect, but even of a special divine illumination for each act of reason, and of seeds of possibility for all new realizations – all of which were ways by which the earlier Christian Platonism had attempted to preserve a role for God in human Progress. Instead man himself is seen as sacrament of God, His sign and symbol, creative vice regent and artist in and of this world. Thus Thomas does not hesitate to affirm of man whatever is required in order that, properly according to his own nature and in his own name, man is able to fulfill these roles in this world. This is the proper autonomy of man in God; we might say that man truly comes home in God.

Participation and the Reconstruction of Religious Vision

The existential sense of being and its openness to the infinite has allowed more recently for a renewed appreciation of Thomas' structure of participation by which human autonomy is an affirmation, rather than a derogation of God. In any limited being, its essence or nature constitutes by definition a limited and limiting capacity for existence: by

it, the being is capable of this much existence, but of no more. Such an essence must then be distinct from the existence because, of itself, existence bespeaks only affirmation, not negation and limitation.

But such a being, whose nature or essence is not existence but only a capacity for existence, could not of itself or by its own nature justify its possession and exercise of existence. The Parmenidean principle of non-contradiction will not countenance existence coming from non-existence, for then being would be reducible to non-being or nothing. Such beings, then, are dependent precisely for their existence, that is, precisely as being or existents.

This dependence cannot be upon another limited being similarly composed of a distinct essence and existence, for such a being would be equally dependent; the multiplication of such dependencies even infinitely would multiply, rather than answer, the question of how composite beings with a limiting essence have existence. Hence, limited composite beings must depend for their existence upon, or participate in, un-composite being whose essence or nature, rather than being distinct from and limiting its existence, is identically existence. This is Being Itself – the total infinite to which Iqbal refers as making finite being and thinking possible.

That un-composite Being is simple, the One par excellence; it is participated in by all multiple and differentiated beings for their existence. The One, however, does not itself participate; it is the unlimited, self-sufficient, eternal and unchanging Being which Parmenides had shown to be solely required for being. "Limited and composite brings are by nature relative to, participate in, and caused by the unique simple and non-composite being which is Absolute, unparticipated and uncaused."[35]

This sense of participation makes it possible to speak of the nonreciprocal relation of finite to infinite and to identify the essentially caused character of the former.[36] This is a crucial step beyond the Platonic tradition which rightly can be criticized for failing to develop adequate tools for distinguishing man from God. An existential metaphysics understands causality in terms of participation in the infinite. Hence, even while placing central emphasis upon union with the divine, by its conceptual and ontological structure it never loses sight of their distinction. Nevertheless, through making this distinction it sees every aspect of the cause or created being as totally derivative from and expressing, the infinite. Let man be man; indeed let all creatures be, for

they glorify God the infinite and all mightily, the munificent and merciful!

For his sense of participation some early Church Fathers placed Plato among the prophets. As clarified and enriched by Aristotle's sense of being as active, by the work of his great medieval Islamic commentators and by the Christian existential sense of being, this metaphysics can provide the systematic clarification needed by Iqbal's instinctive insights regarding religion in order that they be articulated for the increasingly structured physical and social environment in which we live. In the face of the dilemma of human hubris vs. religious passivity in our days, this provides indispensable help in responding to the need of those devoted in faith. For it can aid them to understand better the relation of their increasingly complex life to God and assist them in living their faith in our times; in a word, to come home and to be at home religiously in our times.

Phenomenology of Gift as Religious Reconstruction of Social Cohesion

For Iqbal making man at home in the world might be a proper task for "metaphysics .... A logically consistent view of the world with God as part of that view." But he sees another stage in which Metaphysics is displaced by psychology, and religious life develops the ambition to come into direct contact with the ultimate reality. It is here that religion becomes a matter of personal assimilation of life and power; and the individual achieves a free personality, not by releasing himself from the fetters of the law, but by discovering the ultimate source of the law within the depths of his own consciousness.[37]

Iqbal would probably be very interested in recent development in phenomenology. For him the aspiration of religion soars higher than that of philosophy. Philosophy is an intellectual view of things; and as such, does not care to go beyond a concept which can reduce all the rich variety of experience to a system. It sees Reality from a distance as it were. Religion seeks a closer contact with Reality. The one is theory; the other is living experience, association, intimacy. In order to achieve this intimacy thought must rise higher than itself, and find its fulfillment in an attitude of mind which religion describes as prayer – one of the last words on the lips of the Prophet of Islam.[38]

Hence the search into human subjectivity is really at the heart of Iqbal's concern for the reconstruction of religion. He brilliantly rearticulated the Islamic vision in terms of the vitalism of his time as part of this century's renewed discovery and appreciation of human

subjectivity. It is necessary to follow the emergence of this attention and to elaborate the possibilities of the phenomenology to which it led in order to extend Iqbal's work of religious reconstruction. This would liberate the human spirit from egoism, and bring it finally home –this time not only to self, but to others and to God.

At the beginning of this century, it appeared that the rationalist project of stating all in clear and distinct objective terms was close to completion. This was to be achieved in either the empirical terms of the positivist tradition of sense knowledge or in the formal and essentialist terms of the Kantian intellectual tradition. Whitehead writes that at the turn of the century, when with Bertrand Russell he went to the first World Congress of Philosophy in Paris, it seemed that, except for some details of application, the work of physics was essentially completed. To the contrary, however, the very attempt to finalize scientific knowledge with its most evolved concepts made manifest the radical insufficiency of the objectivist approach.

Similarly, Wittgenstein began by writing his *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*[39]39 on the Lockean supposition that significant knowledge consisted in constructing a mental map corresponding point to point to the external world as perceived by sense experience. In such a project the spiritual element of understanding, i.e., the grasp of the relations between the points on this mental map was relegated to the margin as simply "unutterable". However, experience in teaching children led Wittgenstein to the conclusion that this empirical mental mapping was simply not what was going on in human knowledge. In his *Blue* and *Brown Books*[40] and his subsequent *Philosophical Investigations*[41] Wittgenstein shifted human consciousness or intentionality, which previously had been relegated to the periphery, to the very the center of concern. In this context the focus of his philosophy was no longer the positivist replication of the external world, but the human construction of language and of worlds of meaning.[42]

A similar process was underway in the Kantian camp. There Husserl's attempt to bracket all elements in order to the limitations of a pure essentialism and opened the way for his understudy, Martin Heidegger, to rediscover the existential and historical dimensions of reality in his Being and Time.[43] The religious implications of this new sensitivity was articulated by Karl Rahner in his work The Spirit in the World and by the Second Vatican Council in The Church in the World.[44]

For Heidegger the meaning of being and of life was unveiled in conscious human life (*dasein*) lived thought time and therefore through

history. Thus human consciousness becomes the new focus of attention and the uncovering or bringing into light (the etymology of phenomenology) of its unfolding patterns and interrelations would open a new era of human awareness. Epistemology and metaphysics would develop in the very work of tracking the nature and direction of this process.

Thus, for Heidegger's successor, Hans-George Gadamer, the task becomes the uncovering of how human persons, emerging in the culture of a family, neighborhood and people, exercise their freedom and weave their cultural tradition. This is not history as a mere compilation of whatever mankind does or makes, but culture as the fabric of human symbols and interrelations by which a human group unveils being in its time.

Iqbal provides needed direction here by pointing out that a religious outlook is not an external search for power and control susceptible of empirical investigation and pragmatic interpretation. Rather religion entails an inner attitude which takes us to the very roots of our being and even to its source.

This points us deeply into human subjectivity, but what is its ultimate meaning for life? Is this new focus upon human subjectivity but another chapter in *Paradise Lost* in which excluding God? Or is it to interact more consciously, to attack others more devastatingly, killing not only bodies but spirits as well? Is the new awareness of cultures to open new periods of persecution and cultural genocide; very concretely, "Can we get along" as peoples, cultures and civilizations?

"Appreciation"[45]45 is a key element in Iqbal's thought regarding religion. It unites the elements of our previous sections regarding systematic philosophy, namely, existence, the subsistence of man and the causal participation of human life in the divine. It does so, however, not as effective, objective realities to be known, but as subjective realities lived and savored in a manner that is itself as religious as prayer and contemplation. This is the intent of a phenomenology in terms of the consciously lived appreciation for our life as gift; it leads one to the total absolute, now however not only as a condition of knowledge, but as the source and hence the goal of love.

One can begin with the person as a polyvalent unity operative on both the physical and non-physical levels. Though the various sciences analyze distinct dimensions, the person is not a construct of independent components, but an identity: the physical and the psychic are dimensions of myself and of no other. Further, this identity is not the result of my

personal development, but was had by me from my beginning; it is a given for each person. Hence, while I can grow indefinitely, act endlessly, and do and make innumerable things, the growth and the actions will be always my own: I am the same given or person who endures through all the stages of my growth.

This giveness appears also through reflection upon my interpersonal relations. I do not properly create these, for they are possible only if I already have received my being. Further, to open to others is a dynamism which pertains to my very nature and which I can suppress only at the price of deep psychological disturbance. Relatedness is given with one's nature; it is to be received as a promise and a task; it is one's destiny. What depends upon one is only the degree of one's presence to others.[46]

Unfortunately, this givenness is often taken in the sense of closure associated with the terms 'datum' or 'data', whether hypothetical or evidential. In the hypothetical sense, a given is a stipulation agreed upon by the relevant parties as the basis for a process of argumentation: Granted X, then Y. Such are the premises of an argument or the postulates in a mathematical demonstration. In the evidential sense, data are the direct and warranted observations of what actually is the case. In both these meanings the terms 'given' or 'data' direct the mind exclusively toward to future or consequent as one's only concern. The use of the past participle of the verb stem (*data*) closes off any search toward the past so that when one given is broken down by an analysis new givens appear. One never gets behind some hypothetical or evidential given.

This closure is done for good reason, but it leaves open a second – and for our purposes potentially important –sense of 'given'. This is expressed by the nominative form, '*donum*' or gift. In contrast to the other meanings, these points back, as it were, behind itself to its source in ways similar to the historians' use the term 'fact'. They note that a fact is not simply there; its meaning has been molded or made (*facta*) within the ongoing process of human life.[47] In this sense it points back to its origin and origination; it could be the road home.

However, this potentially rich return to the source was blocked at the beginning of the 19th century by a shift to an anthropocentric view. In this horizon facts came to be seen especially as made by man who is conceived either as an individual in the liberal tradition, or as a class in the socialist tradition – to which correspond the ideals of progress and praxis, respectively. Because what was made by man could always be remade by him,[48] this turned aside a radical search into the character of

life as gift. Attention still remained only upon the future understood simply in terms of man and of what man could do by either individual or social praxis.

There are reason to suspect that this humanism is not enough for the dynamic sense of a cultural heritage and the creative sense of harmony as cooperation with others. Without underestimating how much has been accomplished in terms of progress and praxis, the world-wide contemporary phenomenon of alienation, not only between cultures but from one's own culture and people, suggests that something important has been forgotten.

First, as notes Iqbal, by including only what is abstractively clear, these approaches begin by omitting that which can be had only in self-knowledge, namely, one's self-identity and all that is most distinctive and creative in a people's heritage. Focusing only upon what is analytically clear and distinct to the mind of any and every individual renders alien the notes of personal identity, freedom and creativity, as well as integrity, wholeness and harmony. These characterize the more synthetic philosophical and religious traditions and are realized in self-knowledge, deep inter-personal bonds,[49] and under the personal guidance of a teacher, spiritual director or guru.[50]

Second, there is the too broadly experienced danger that in concrete affairs the concern to build the future in terms only of what has been conceived clearly and by all will be transformed, wittingly and unwittingly, into oppression of self-identity and destruction of integrative culture both as civilizations and as centers of personal cultivation. Indeed, the charges of cultural oppression from so many parts of the world lead one to doubt that the humanist notion of the self-given and its accompanying ideals can transcend the dynamics of power and leave room for persons, especially for those of other cultures.

Finally, were the making implied in the derivation of the term 'fact' from 'facere' to be wholly reduced to 'self-making,' and were the given to become only the self-given, we would have stumbled finally upon what Parmenides termed "the all impossible way" of deriving what is from what is not.[51] Iqbal's essential insight – shared by the Hindu, Islamic and Judeo-Christian traditions – that all is grounded in the Absolute should guard against such self-defeating, stagnating and destructive self-centeredness.

PERSON AS GIFT IN GOD

It is time then to look again to the second meaning of 'given' and to follow the opening this provides toward the source as implied in the

notion of gift. Above, we noted that self-identity and interpersonal relatedness are gifts (*dona*). We shall now look further into this in order to see what it suggests regarding the dynamic openness required for cooperation between persons and cultures.

First, one notes that as gift the given has an essentially gratuitous character. It is true that at times the object or service given could be repaid in cash or in kind. As indicated by the root of the term 'commercial,' however, such a transaction would be based on some merit (*mereo*) on the part of the receiver. This would destroy its nature as gift precisely because the given would not be based primarily in the freedom of the giver.

The same appears from an analysis of an exchange of presents. Presents cease to be gifts to the degree that they are given only because of the requirements of the social situation or only because of a claim implicit in what the other might have given me. Indeed, the sole way in which such presents can be redeemed as gifts is to make clear that their presentation is not something to which I feel obliged, but which I personally and freely want to do. As such then, a gift is based precisely upon the freedom of the giver; it is gratuitous.

There is striking symmetry here with the 'given' in the above sense of hypothesis or evidence. There, in the line of hypothetical and evidential reasoning there was a first, namely, that which is not explained, but upon which explanation is founded. Here there is also a first upon which the reality of the gift is founded and which is not to be traced to another reality. This symmetry makes what is distinctive of the gift stand out, namely, that the giving is not traced back further precisely because it is free or gratuitous. Once again, our reflections lead us in the direction of that which is self-sufficient, absolute and transcendent as the sole adequate source of the gift of being. Phenomenological reflection leads us home to what Iqbal intuited, namely, that only a total absolute makes possible anything finite, including our very selves.

Further, as an absolute point of origin with its distinctive spontaneity and originality, the giving is non-reciprocal. To attempt to repay would be to destroy the gift as such. Indeed, there is no way in which this originating gratuity can be returned; we live in a graced condition. This appears in reflection upon one's culture. What we received from the authors of the Vedas, a Confucius or Mohammad can in no way be returned. Nor is this simply a problem of distance in time, for neither is it possible to repay the life we have received from our parents, the health received from a doctor, the wisdom from a teacher, or simply the good

example which can come from any quarter at any time. The non-reciprocal character of our life is not merely that of part do whole; it is that of a gift to its source.[52]

The great traditions have insisted rightly both upon the oneness of the absolute reality and upon the lesser reality of the multiple: the multiple is not The Real, though neither is it totally non-reality. Anselm's elaboration of the notion of privation contains a complementary clarification of the gratuitous character of beings as given or gifted. He extended this notion of privation to the situation of creation in which the whole being is gifted. In the case, there is no prior subject to which something is due; hence, there is no ground or even any acceptance. Anselm expressed this radically non-reciprocal nature of the gift – its lack of prior conditions – through the notion of absolute privation.

It is privation and not merely negation, for negation simply is not and leads nowhere, whereas the gift is to be, and once given can be seen to be uniquely appropriate. It is absolute privation, however, for the foundation is not at all on the part of the recipient; rather it is entirely on the part of the source.[53]

To what does this gift correspond on the part of the source? In a certain parallel to the antinomies of Kant which show when reason has strayed beyond its bounds, many from Plotinus to Leibniz and beyond have sought knowledge, not only of the gift and its origin, but of why it had to be given. The more they succeeded the less room was left for freedom on the part of man as a given or gift. Others attempted to understand freedom as a fall, only to find that what was thus understood was bereft of value and meaning and hence was of no significance to human life and its cultures. Rather, the radical non-reciprocity of human freedom must be rooted in an equally radical generosity on the part of its origin. No reason, either on the part of the given or on the part of it origin, makes this gift necessary. The freedom of man is the reflection of the pure generosity by which it is given: If in general man is the image of God, then in particular human freedom is the image of God's love.

At this point philosophy begins to gain that intimacy which Iqbal sees as characterizing religion. The intellect takes on that union which is more characteristic of a mystical state. One appreciates one's freedom as given and responds freely and spontaneously. This, in turn, enables one to respond freely in love to the love by which one's heart has been given. This, in turn, transforms it into generosity in image of the outgoing love of my creator.

Yet in all this the metaphysics of existence keeps cause and effect distinct from one another so that I am not absorbed into the divine love by which I am given, but instead am affirmed as being in my own right and hence as outgoing generous source in this world.

Thus religion as appreciation entails not withdrawal from the world, but its engagement and transformation. This appears from a continuation of the phenomenology of self or ego as gift, which implies in turn a correspondingly radical openness or generosity. Man as gift is not something which is and then receives. It was an essential facet of Plato's response to the problems he had elaborated in the Parmenides that the multiple can exist only as participants of the good or one. Receiving is not something they do; it is what they are.[54]54 As such at the core of their being they reflect standing oneself as gift entails understanding oneself as gift entails understanding oneself also as giving of oneself in openness to others.

CULTURAL HARMONY AND CREATIVE— INTERCHANGE AS GRATITUDE TO GOD

This sense of gift may make it possible to extend the notions of duty and harmony beyond concern for the well-being of those with whom I share and whose well-being is in a sense my own. The good is not only what contributes to my perfection, for I am not the center of meaning. Rather, being as received is essentially outgoing.

This has two important implications for our topic. Where the Greeks' focus upon their heritage had led to depreciating others as barbarians, the sense of oneself and of one's culture as radically given or gifted provides a basic corrective. Knowing and valuing oneself and one's culture as gifts implies more than merely reciprocating what the other does for me. It means, first, that others and their culture are to be respected simply because they too have been given or gifted by the one Transcendent source. This is an essential step which Gandhi, in calling outcasts by the name "*harijans*" or "children of God," urged us to take beyond the sense of pride or isolation in which we would see others in pejorative terms.

But mere respect may not be enough. The fact that I and another, my people or culture and another, originate from share in and proclaim the same "total absolute", especially as this creates not out of need but out of love, implies that the relation between cultures as integrating modes of human life is in principle one of complementarity and outreach. Hence, interchange as the effort to live this complementarity is far from being hopeless. In the pressing needs of our times only an intensification of cooperation between peoples can make available the needed immense

stores of human experience and creativity. The positive virtue of love is our real basis for hope.

A second principle of interchange is to be found in the participated – the radically given or gifted –character of one's being. As one does not first exist and then receive, but one's very existence is a received existence or gift, to attempt to give back this gift, as in an exchange of presents, would be at once hopelessly too much and too little. On the one hand, to attempt to return in strict equivalence would be too much for it is our very self that we have received as gift. One the other hand, to think merely in terms of reciprocity would be to fall essentially short of my nature as one that is given, for to make a merely equivalent return would be to remain centered upon myself where I would cleverly trap, and then entomb, the creative power of being.

Rather, looking back I can see the futility of giving back, and in this find the fundamental importance of passing on the gift in the spirit in which it has been given. One's nature as given calls for a creative generosity which reflects that of one's source. Truly appropriate generosity lies in continuing the giving of which I have received through shaping one's cultural tradition creatively in response to the real present day needs not only of ourselves, but of others, cooperating in kind to the creative gifts at the heart of other cultures so that all may be truly at home. This requires a vast expansion or breaking out of oneself as the only center of one's concern. It means becoming appreciative and effectively concerned with the good of others and of other groups, with the promotion and vital growth, of the next generation and those to follow. Indeed it means advancing Iqbal's insight regarding religious thought another step further to a total harmony of man and nature which reflects the total absolute as the condition of possibility of all.

IMPLICATIONS OF RELIGIOUS—RECONSTRUCTION FOR LIFE IN OUR TIMES

The implications of such generosity are broad and at times surprisingly personal. First, true openness to others cannot be based upon a depreciation of oneself or of one's own culture. Without appreciating one's worth there would be nothing to share and no way to help, nor even the possibility of taking joy in the good of the other. Further, cultural interchange enables one to see that elements of one's life, which in isolation may have seemed to be merely local customs and purely repetitive in character, are more fundamentally modes in which one lives basic and essential human values. In meeting others and other cultures, one discovers the deeper meaning in one's own everyday life.

One does more than discover, however. One recognizes that in these transcendental value of life – truth and freedom, love and beauty – one participates in the dynamism of one's origin and hence must share these values in turn. More exactly, one can come to realize that real reception of these transcendental gifts lies in sharing them in loving concern in order that others may realize them as well. This means passing on one's own heritage not by replicating it in others, but by promoting what others and subsequent generation would freely become.

Finally, that other cultures are quintessentially products of self-cultivation by other spirits as free and creative images of their divine source implies the need to open one's horizons beyond one's own self-concerns to the ambit of the freedom of others. This involves promoting the development of other free and creative centers and cultures which, precisely as such, are not in one's own possession or under one's own control. One lives then no longer in terms merely of oneself or of things that one can make or manage, but in terms of an interchange between free persons and peoples of different cultures. Personal responsibility is no longer merely individual decision making or for individual good. Effectively realized, the resulting interaction and mutual fecundation reaches out beyond oneself and one's own culture to reflect ever more perfectly the glory of the one source and goal of all.[55]

This calls for a truly shared effort in which all respond fully, not only to majority or even common need, but to the particular needs of each. This broad sense of tolerance and loving outreach even in the midst of tensions is the fruit of Iqbal's religious attitude of appreciation as mediated through a phenomenology of gift. It has been described by Pope John Paul II as a state in which violence cedes to peaceful transformation, and conflict to pardon and reconciliation; where power is made reasonable by persuasion, and justice finally is implemented through love.[56]

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[1] *The Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana with commentary by Sankara*, tran. By G. Thibaut (New York: Dover).

[2] (Lahore: Ashraf, 1942), p.6

[3] *Ibid*, p.17

[4] It was according to this threefold structure in both Aquinas' *Commentary* on Boethius' work *On the Trinity* qq. 3 and 5. Descartes' procedure for placing under doubt all that arises from the three sources of knowledge until knowledge from that source could be certified as true. Aristotle's dictum regarding humans as physical and spiritual held that there is nothing in the intellect which is not first in the senses.

[5] Indeed, one might define philosophy and science precisely as knowledge of the various aspects of reality in terms proper to human reason and hence expressive of the nature or existence of the things themselves.

[6] L. Levy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1966), ch. II.

[7] Ibid., ch. XII. See also Warner Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (London: Oxfore Univ. Press, 1967), ch. I; and G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Pre Socratic Philosophers* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1960), pp. 26-32.

[8] Hesiod, *Theogony* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1953).

[9] Xenophanes, *Fragments* 11, 14-16 in George F. McLean and Patrick J. Aspell, *Readings in Ancient Western Philosophy* (englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 31

[10] George F. McLean and Patrick Aspell, p. 4. See also by the same authors, *Ancient Western Philosophy: The Hellenic Emergence* (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1971).

[11] Werner Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 12-13.

[12] *Physics* IV, 1,208b31.

[13] Jaeger, p. 13.

[14] G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, pp.26-32.

[15] *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, trans. By H.G. Evelyn-White (London: Heinemann, 1920), p.86.

[16] Kirk and Raven, loc. Cit.

[17] Anaximander, *fragments*, see McLean and Aspell, *Readings*, pp. 14-17; McLean and Aspell, *Ancient Western Philosophy*: pp. 22-28.

[18] See McLean and Aspell, *Ancient Western Philosophy*, ch. III.

[19] Parmenides, *fragments*, see McLean and Aspell, *Readings in Ancient Western Philosophy*, pp. 39-44.

[20] Fragment 8; see Alexander P. D. Mourelatos, *The Route of Parmenides: A Study of Word, Images, and Argument in the Fragments* (New Haven: Yale, 1970).

[21] *Metaphysics*, XII, 7, 1070 b 26-29.

[22] Iqbal, p. 180.
[23] Iqbal, p. 6.
[24] Iqbal, p. 155.
[25] *Old Testament.*
[26] Iqbal, p. 4.
[27] Iqbal, pp. 128-129, 142.
[28] G. McLean, *Plenitude and Participation: The Unity of Man in God* (Madras: The University of Madras, 1978), pp. 53-57.
[29] Aristotle had taken the compossibility of forms as a sufficient response to the scientific question of 'whether it exists'. See Joseph Owens, *The Doctrine of Being in the Aristotelian Metaphysics: A Study in the Greek Background of Medieval Thought* (Toronto: P.I.M.S., 1978).
[30] Mortiner J. Adler, *The Idea of Freedom: A Dialectical Examination of the Conceptions of Freedom* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1958), I, 609.
[31] John I:1-5, 8.
[32] C. Fabro called the graded and related manner in which this is realized concretely an intensive notion of being. Cornelio Fabro, *Participation et causalite selon S. Thomas d'Aquin* (Louvain: Pub. Univ. de Louvain, 1961).
[33] Cornelio Fabro, *La nozione metafisica de partecipazione secondo S. Tommaso d'Aquino* (Torino: Societ Ed. Internazionale, 1950), pp. 75-122.
[34] Iqbal, pp. 32.
[35] Ibid.
[36] This, it would seem, may be better than saying as does Iqbal that "the true infinite does not exclude the finite; it embraces the finite without effacing its finitude." It would enable him also to escape the entanglements he finds in the so-called "cosmological argument." Indeed, the argumentation requires a metaphysical stage in order to have a positive conclusion. Iqbal, pp. 29-30.
[37] Iqbal, p. 180.
[38] Iqbal, p. 62.
[39] Tr. C. K. Ogden (London: Methuen, 1981).
[40] (New York: Harper and Row).
[41] Tr. G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958).
[42] Brain Wicker, *Culture and Theology* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1966). Pp. 68-88.
[43] (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).
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[46] Maurice Nedoncelle, "Person and/or World as the Source of Religious Insight" in G. McLean, ed., *Traces of God in a Secular Culture* (New York: Alba House, 1973), pp. 187-210.
[47] Kenneth L. Schmitz, *The Gift: Creation* (Milwaukee: Marquette Univ. Press, 1982), pp. 34-42. I am particularly indebted to this very thoughtful work for its suggestions. I draw here also upon my "Chinese-Western Cultural Interchange in the Future" delivered at the International Symposium on Chinese-Western Cultural Inter-change in Commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the Arrival of Matteo Ricci, S.J., in China (Taiwan: Fu Jen Univ., 1983), pp. 457-72.

[48] Karl Marx, Theses on Feuerbach, nos. 6-8 in F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy* (New York: International Publishers, 1934), pp. 82-84. Schmitz, ibid.
[49] A. S. Cua, *Dimensions of Moral Creativity: Paradigms, Principles and Ideals* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1978), chaps. III-V. 50.
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[52] Schmitz, pp. 44-56.
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[55] Schmitz, pp. 84-86.
[56] John Paul II, "Address at Puebla," *Origins*, VIII (n. 34, 1979), I, 4 and II, 41-46.

THE SUFI ORDERS IN CHINA

Dr. Mozafar Bakhtyar

I have discussed detailed history of development of Islam in China by Iranians in the introduction of the *Survey of Islamic Manuscripts in China.*[1] Causes of spread of Persian as a formal and cultural language of Islam and the influence of Iranians on Islamic culture of China is explained with reference to Chinese, Arabic, Persian and other relevant sources. It is concluded that most of the customs and traditions of Chinese Muslims are under, intense influence of Iranian culture. The text book and prevalent versions common among the Chinese Muslims were written, in Persian language, Muḥammad Ibn i Ḥakīm Zininī, a famous Muslim scholar and founder of Islamic school of the Shandong Islamic traditional education in his popular book *Minhāj al-Ṭalab*, compiled in 1660, the most common educational text in Islamic institutions of China uptill now, has supported the same view:

In China most of the texts of *Fiqh*, *Taṣawwuf* and *Tafsīr* art written in Persian and a scholar of fiqh, in order to understand the religious texts, has no other choice than to lean Persian properly, because if a problem arises in connection with religious matters which requires a *fatwā* (legal opinion/encyclical), how can lie cope with it if he does n6t know Persian properly".[2]

As mentioned in my *Survey of Islamic Manuscripts in China*, Persian manuscripts are not comparable with Arabic manuscripts as they are more in number. Due to prevalence of Persian language among Muslims all over China, a large number of words and religious terminology as saying of intention for daily canonical five prayers, for other occasions and rites such as festivals and wedding ceremonies were used to be recited in Persian as a tradition even by those who did not know Persian.[3]

Moreover, numerous Persian cultural and social terms such as names of foods, wearing, things of daily use and some verbs in colloquial language of Muslims in China, are used in Persian language even in the centres of pure Chinese culture as Shandong, Yunnan, Fujian, Sichuan, Zhejiang and Jiangsu.

Uyghuri language which is the most commonly spoken by the Muslim inhabitants of the vast area of Xinjiang (Sinkiang) includes about

sixty percent of pure Persian words in its diction and structure. Ms. N. Bad'i, an Iranian scholar and expert in Uyghuri language has accumulated Persian loan words in Uyghuri language and the work is ready to be published.

According to the research of Chinese linguist, Professor Huang Shizhiang, it is worth mentioning that the term Huihiui meant for the Muslim in China.[4] Similarly in the historical documents and archives the term Huihui was used for Persian speaking people and the Persian language in the old Chinese, but due to the distinctive features of Muslims of speaking Persian the word adopted the sense of Muslim for itself.

The history of influence and development of Iranian culture and cultural exchanges begins far-before the Islamic period which is out of discussion here. In the Islamic period besides theology and Sufism which was established and developed by Iranian, economic and commercial elements along with political relations turned into the main factors for the development of Persian language and Culture in China. Similarly in the Hanglin (Imperial Academy), established for the education and training of high ranking government officials only, Persian was formal medium of instruction.[5]

According to the world tourists of olden ages like Odoric, Marco Polo, Jean de Plan Carpin and Ibn-i Baṭūṭa, Persian language had the role of mediation among the people of multiple languages and served as an international language in all the territories of Silk Road in China domain.[6] Accordingly missionary tourists who were deputed to China for a number of years alternately in the period of Yuan dynasty (1276-1368 AD) mention in their travelogues that the people knew Persian language well. The letter of the Emperor of China to Pope in Persian language and script was preserved in the National library Paris and has been introduced and published by the well-known Sinolog Paul pelliot.[7]

In this way Sufism based on the prominent and distinguished manifestation of rich Iranian culture spread all over China to teach theoretical Sufism Persian language and gnostic texts of Persian.

There is no need to probe into the old ages of Chinese Turkistan, the most extensive and vast province of China newly named as Xinjiang which was once, one of the most important centres of Iranian Sufism in the past.

Even in important and reliable sources of history of Sufism like *Nafahat al-Uns*[8] Turkistan School has its identity and Kashghar the old capital of that even now exists, as an Islamic cultural centre was once an important school of real Sufism clue to the settlement of numerous Shaikhs of Naqshbandi sect. Monuments of ancient times like the magnificent Khanqah (monastery) of Āfāq-Khwāja with its glorious

traditions in Kashghar and Shrine of Rashid al-Din still exist in Kuqa town.

A big, Dostkami (a large howl or vessel for drinks) due to its Persian script engraved around it had been endowed to monastery of Ghazzālī by the Sufis of Khotan city is preserved in the local museum of Khotan. According to Iranian traditions, these vessels or scoops were used in banquets, Sufi's gatherings, ceremonies or other religious rites to serve water and drinks. Diametre of copper made big Dostkami of Khotan engraved and carved very skilfully is about two meters, but it is not certain why had not been sent to its original destination, Iran. Certainly to carry away so heavy consignments to such a long distance by old transport vehicles was difficult and extra ordinary.

There is a large number of monuments and remains of ancient ruined shrines and Khanqahs all over China. Most of the monuments have specifications and characteristics of pure Iranian architecture, but due to ignorance have been introduced recently only as mosque or tomb even in the historical guide books and archives of China, which seduces the ignorance of history and culture. Regretfully most of the monuments which are incarnate documents of historical influence of Islam and Iranian art and culture in China, are at cornice of destruction due to lack of maintenance and protection. For example, the shrine and Khanqah of Shaikh Abū Isḥāq i Walī in Yarkand (the city named as Sache now-a-days). Since 1.991-93 the years of my earlier visits to these dignified ruins up till now, I found these monument more desolated and more destroyed in every visit. Now while I am writing kilometres away from these ruins in Tehran, Iran. These distinguished and glorified monuments which were the samples of architectural style, fine art and cultural heritage of Iran and Islam in China would have been destroyed completely.

Of course only these remaining monuments are not sign and indication of active and strong flow of Iranian Sufism in China. It must be kept in mind that most of the monuments in Islamic historical buildings in China, besides depreciation, accidents and natural calamities like earthquake of 1900 A.D. in the areas of Kashghar that ruined of many historical buildings, wars and internal and religious disputes became important and effective factors of desolation of numerous Islamic monuments. Uzbeks destroyed many shrines and buildings of Shī'a sect in Chinese Turkistan to retalliate the Safavides. Czarist Russia annihilated many historical relics to wipe out cultural and historical heritage of region during their rule in Turkistan.

Last important factor was the Cultural Revolution of China in the years 1966-1976 in which not only archives, books and Islamic historical monuments but an important portion of cultural heritage of China disappeared totally.

Besides shrines and tombs of great Sufis which are seen from the east to the west corner of China are markable signs of Islamic and Iranian Sufism in China still. In Canton, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Shandong, Sichuan and Fujian, particularly in Quanzliou city (Fujian Province), named as "Zaytun"[9] in Islamic sources, there are numerous grave stones and ruins of tombs of several gnosts of different Sufi sects.[10]

Grave of a Shazeli leader that I visited in an old graveyard of Muslims in suburbs of Canton (Guandong) city is an exceptional example in the graves of non-Iranian Sufis of different sects in China. In Yanzhau city (Zhejiang Province in the south-east of China) dignified tomb of Khwāja Bahā al-Dīn, situated in the core of Chinese culture, is still a place to visit and to perform pilgrimage. On the four walls of original tomb a Rubā'ī (quatrain) of 'Umar Khayyām the great Iranian poet has been inscripted and a hemistich is carved on an epigraph on all the four walls. Present condition of the tomb and building shows that there had been a shrine adjacent to it which has disappeared now. It has also been introduced as a tomb and a grave of a religious leader but the titles and headings about the Shaikhs and an epigraph written on the door and a Rubā'ī (quartain)of 'Umar Khayyām clearly shows that it is the grave of a Sufi not a religious leader. Muslims and Budhists also perform pilgrimage, resort and pray there till now.

In south eastern China titles and terminologies of Sufi sects like "Darvish" and "Baba" were used to be pronounced in its original Persian form. The tombs of Kubrāviya and the other Sufi sects which have been preserved in good condition are the clear signs of the perpetual influence of Sufis and their traditions in China since seventeenth century. These monuments are situated on the top of a high mountain near the remote village of Dawantou, Dongxiang district of Gansu province. Presumptive grave of Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī and a magnificent and glorious shrine of Kubrāvī sheikh.

In the beginning of Ming Dynasty (1368-.1644 AD) in a scroll painting which has been preserved in the central Khanqah of Kubrāviya in Lanzhou city, the building of Kubrāviya Khanqah and presumptive grave of Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī seen in the present shape. Meanwhile it is notable that Kubrāviya are the followers of Shaikh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā but most important shrine and the holy place as they believe, is the tomb of Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī, leader of Qāderiyya sect, one of the most important and independent sect in China. Building of such a magnificent tomb has been built in the shape of a platform on the top of a mountain hard to approach. Gardening and watering of' this beautiful garden in the barren area is really a surprising and difficult task, which seems impossible without faith, sincerity and complete devotion.

The tomb of Baba Hamza Isfahānī in the suburbs of small town Xiaonan has ancient epigraphs and scrolls in Persian showing that Baba

(:Shaikh, Sufi leader) came to China from Iran during the 16th century and remained busy in preaching and promoting Sufism in Hezu and Dongxiang region. Hezu, newly named as Linxia, due to its cultural and geographical situation has been one of the most important Muslim centres in ancient China. Followers of all Islamic sects and Sufi orders lived together without fanaticism or any dispute with reciprocal respect. Due to symbiosis of the Muslims of different sects, Hezu was entitled by the Muslims of China as "small, Mecca".

Except the Sufis of different sects who had become the permanent residents of China, the vast land of China was also an old important route of travel and journey for the other Sufis. Apart from travelling traditions to visit Shaikhs or journeys around the world for spiritual refinement and purification, to acquire experience and practical knowledge, which are the basis for teaching and educating practical Sufism, one more important motive also existed for Sufis to travel around China. According to old belief of Sufis Adam after driven away from heaven, placed his first foot steps on the land of Sarandib (now Ceylon) which has been engraved on a stone. Visit and pilferage of foot impression "Qadatngali" is one of the Sufi ceremonies like Hajj as the pilgrimage of Ka'ba for the Muslims.

This tradition continued till the last century. Some Sufi leaders like Zain al-'Ābidīn Shīrwānī (1780-1837 AD) or Nāyib al-Ṣadr Shīrāzī (1853-1925 AD) have travelled there to see the foot place and perform their duty. They have described the adventures of journey in their writings.[11]

Sufis and Muslims traveled to Sarandib by two routes, by sea alongwith commercial carvans on old Maritime Sillk Route and secondly by road. Marine route was not pleasant for Sufis due to high expenses, dangers of voyage and lesser chance to visit different territories on the way. So they used to travel by road usually. However, any route that was selected for journey to Sarandib inevitably passed through a vast area of China. Sufi travellers aboded in shrines and Khanqahs during the journeys according to their traditions. Numerous welfare foundations also existed to serve and provide expenditures to the pilgrims. According to the writings of Ibn-i Batota, darvishes (Sufi) who travelled through China to visit Sarandib used to receive a sealed letter from the employees of Shaikh Abu-Ishaq Kazeroni's monasteries established in Iran. Devotees of Shaikh Abū Isḥāaq were instructed to serve and provide financial help to Sufis bearing the letters from the funds of Shaikh's foundation.[12]

A very rare number of the credentials of endowment and trust foundations is available in old documents which has been introduced in the historical sources of China. The journeys of saints turned into an important factor to develop and preach Sufism, to exchange ideas and

thoughts and to strengthen the relations of Sufis of China with the biggest Sufi centres of Islamic world and monasteries,, particularly in Iran.

However, the strength and influx of' Sufis got so increased that it resulted into the riots against King dynasty (1644 - 1911 AD) in eighteenth Century for gaining independence. In these riots, victories of Qizilbash Sufis in Iran for the sake of independence and inaugurating Safavid dynasty was a model for Chinese saints. The most important Muslim movement in Chinese Turkistan (now Xinjiang) mostly shared by Khwajafrin were crushed by the famous and powerful emperor Qiang Long (r. 17-335-1796 AD).

The importance and credibility of Khwājagān i Naqshbandī as worthy of attention as conqueror of Turkistan Quin Long after getting hold of Turkistan and Kashghar for strengthening the foundation of his power and getting influence among the Muslims got married with the daughter of a Naqshbandī Shaikh and carried her to Peking from Kashgar.

Khwājagān i Naqshbandī were Iranian and according to ancient credential and histories of Qing dynasty this lady named Patisa which is a Persian feminine name, meaning heavenly beauty, being used in Iran for the names of women till now. In the beginning like many other marriages of ancient emperors, the marriage of Qiang Long with Parisa. was also politico-strategic, that continuously changed into the passionate love. With her spiritual power and love promoting attraction, she grasped the entire empire which was one of the greatest conquerors in the history of China and in this manner fastened the influence of Muslims and the declining situation of Naqshbandis for a short span of time.[13]

In Chinese tales and sources, different descriptions have been narrated and even her life has been a title of the famous' dramas of Peking Opera (Jingju). This Iranian lady was exceptionally beautiful and possessed admiring personality. According to Chinese sources, she had gloriously long black hair, magical eyes and used to wear the splendid Iranian costumes which were mark of the day in ancient China. Great poets of China as Bai Juyi (772-846 AD) and Yuan Zhen (779-831 AD) have described the beauty and grandeur of these Iranian dresses. It savoured out of her body naturally, therefore she was given the title of Xiangfei (fragrance lady). This mystic lady is known among the people by the same name in Chines sources. The love and trust bestowed to her by the emperor of China was so strong that during this era of power and penetration of Buddhism in Chinese Court and internal policy of the government to suppress the local minorities, a special mosque was built for Xiangfei in Yuanmen yuan Palace, as she was strongly committed to perform prayers and to safeguard Islamic principles. Remains of this mosque are still visible in the ruins of the palace and the designed carvings of Quranic verses, sayings of Prophet and the names of his

companions are exhibited in the museum of the Yuanmen yuan Palace, in Beijing (Peking).

Qiang Long dealt with the Muslims fiercely, because they played an important role in the movements and riots for independence in China. He controlled over the Muslims •in performing their worships and applications and even at the beginning of his monarchy, prohibited to slaughter animals in Islamic way. The construction of new mosques and to the pilgrimage was banned as well. These are the last moments of Naqshbandis in China being in full grandeur and activity. Naqshbandi order had been dissolving into the other Sufi chains continuously since eighteenth century. Today Naqshbandī, once being the most active Sufi school has no external existence in China. Probably it is due to getting politicized of their leaders extraordinarily, getting lost of the primary spiritual and mystical nature. Interfering the political matters, repeated movements of Khwājagān crushed severely by the government, resulted into the annihilation of many Naqshbandī leaders. These bloody revolutions and riots spread over 18th and 19th century in the history of Muslims and saints in China.

Though today Naqshbandī order in China has come to an end and should be considered as in active, but its influence on other Sufi Chains is completely visible. According to the books, theoretical texts and teaching booklets of all the Sufi orders in China these days, like Jahriya, Kubrāviya, Qāderiya and Khafiya (wrongly known as Khawfiyah in China), are the same Naqshbandī texts with no exception.

Persian chronicles of Mawlana ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Mathnawi* of Mawlā,ā *Divān* of Ḥāfiẓ and *collected works* of Sa‘dī[14] are more important while there exist theoretical differences and distinction among these schools concerning rites and ceremonies of spiritual development, the fundamentals, ideology and the world viewing.

During the last years of Naqshbandīs, Jahriya sect was formed which is considered the most Chinese- transformed Islamic mysticism. Ma Mingxin, the founder of this Sect. wanted to keep this newly born sect very near to fundamentalist and pure Islam but surprisingly developed into a school mixed with miscellaneous religions and mystic thoughts and ideologies. Penetration of ideological factors of Taoism and pure ancient thoughts of Chinese mysticism are not lesser. Formalities and etiquettes of Jahriya and their intention to care for grading their loaders and safeguarding the sect has much resemblance with Ahl i Ḥaq in Iran. This sect is named as Jahriya as they recite the supplications with the loud voice (Jahr) while 'Naqshbandiya and Khafiya which is the most purified offspring of Naqshbandiya in China, recite silently in their heart.

Ma Mingxing The founder and leader of Jahriya had travelled during the years 1760-1780 AD through Arab territories with the objective of gaining Islamic knowledge and research into the orders of mysticism. In

17th century, after the formation of Shī'a in Iran by Safavid dynasty, the communication of religious and mystic schools of Iran had conic to an end with the traditional religious of eastern neighbouring lands to Iran.

Life history of Nia Mingxin is mixed with both the reality and different myths like the lives of mystic leaders and sages mostly. Jahriya sect was a source of a number of great religious and movements in China, particularly in Gausu Province which caused many difficulties for (Ding dynasty (1644-1911 AD), basic stimulant of these movements was the problem of Muslims Identification and cultural formation in China. whether to be Chinese and then Muslim or a Muslim of China facing the other cultures with respect to their land.

The Jahriya placed an important role in the history of Islam in China at that time and afterwards. The sect's followers maintain their own beliefs and rites, which include elements of Iranian mysticism. Followers, however, are very secretive about their beliefs and it is difficult to describe them accurately.[15] Social and political circumstances have compounded secrecy. It is nevertheless significant, from a cultural and bibliographical perspective that their important texts, in manuscript form are written in a language which is a mixture of Persian and Arabic and is not easily understandable to non-followers of the sect. Thus the content of the texts is only conveyed to adherents.

The most important text of the Jahriya, of which numerous copies are owned by the sect's followers, is *Mukhaminas* by Shaykh Muḥammad Tabadkani Ṭūsī Khurāsānī one of the grreat Naqshbandī leaders (d.1486 AD). The author has incorporated the famous Arabic *qaṣīda* of Sharaf al-Dīn Būṣīrī, known as *Al-Burdah*, in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, into a certain style of Persian poetry called *Mukhammas* (quintuple). The author has used the version of *Al-Burdah* given by Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn Khujandī Farghānī as far as the order of the original *qaṣīda* is concerned. This text is considered to be the sacred book of this sect. Every follower of the Jahriya has to read this *Mukhammas* in a particular ritual manner. Hence there are numerous copies of this text in China and a printed version has been made available.

A part from the *Mukhammas*, the following books are widely read and respected by the followers of the sect: *Divān* of Ḥāfiẓ; *the Mathnawi* of Mawlavī; *Ashi''at al-lama'āt* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī; *Tafsīr-i mawāhib-i 'Āliyah* of Mulla Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī (d. 910/1505) which is known as *Tafsīr Husaynī* among Chinese Muslims. These titles are found in MS. form throughout China and, in particular, among the followers of the Jahriya sect.

Another credible Sufi sect is Qādariya. The center of Qādariya Shaikh is in Linxia city of Gausu Province. The tomb of Shaikh Abū 'Abdullah (d.1679 A. D.) a great saint in the Lariguzhou city, Sichuan Province, is one if the sacred place of Qadariya in China. Shaikh Abū 'Abdullah was

burried in his own monastery according to his will. This monastery is known as "Masjid Baba" and considered as a holy place of Pilgrimage by the Muslims and Sufis of China. Followers of Qādariya sect gather to celebrate oil a particular day in a congregation every year to hold a grand process.

With reference to many rites and ceremonies Kubrāviya which is to be explained more, is not much different from Qādariya. Khafiya order, wrongly known as Khamfiyah in China, is the most pure surviving element of Naqshbandi China but it is riot active as before is followed by a few these days.

An active Sufi sect 'in China is Kubrāviya. The residence of Shaikh is located in a big Khanqah in Lanzhou city, Gausu Province. Kubraviya possesses many Khanqah, strong organization in Gausu and other provinces of Muslim population followed by a large number of people. Their central grand Khanqah is situated in a remote village, Dawantou. As pointed earlier the model tomb of Shaikh Abd al-Qadir Gilani has been built and with respect to some special days and occasions the followers of Kubrāviya and even the other sects gather there to celebrate particular ceremonies. The most important is the birth anniversary of Shaikh. A great deal of manuscripts and Persian letters of saints are found which have been introduced by me in the Survey of Islamic Manuscripts in China. (under Lanzhou and Dawantou). Kubrāviya hold *Samā'*, spiritual musical meetings, with the permission of Shaikh. In 1993) A.D while staying among them for some weeks, I witnessed these enthusiastic meetings in the presence of Shaikh. These meetings memories us the realistic ceremonies of *Samā'*, (mystical dance and music) of earlier Sufis, which differ entirely from those being performed and exhibited in a demoralized way now-a-days far from mystic spirit. All the songs sung in the Kubrāviya's musical meetings and other ceremonies, termed and known as "Qawl" and "Qawwālī" is in Persian and musical melody is also Iranian. Gist of these verses is to resort to twelve Imams and seek help from sacred personalities (Walis) and the great saints. Existence of these Shi'a elements in the rites and songs of Kubrāviya who are the followers of Hanafi sect is worthy of attention and has particular arguments but this discussion does not spare now.

Shaikh of Kubrāviya after seclusion for there recurring cycles, having fasted for ninety days and secluded in a particular cave in Dawantou's Mountain, wears the Kherqah (gown) in the gathering of all the followers, holding grand ceremonies and special rites, all over China. The gown which is a sign of leadership for many Sufi order is used to be handed over by the former Shaikhs to the later Ones.

Shaikh Muḥammad Ibrāhim Zhang contemporary leader of Kubrāviya told me that Qalandariya is also attached with Kubrāviya monastery.

During my long stay in China, have not seen follower of Qalandariya sect and how far they have secured their identity in China, is not known.

At the end, I am much interested in highlighting something about the historical and social factors of the continuation of Sufis in China till now. How a small minority in a big society of entirely different social and ideological systems, in spite of' difficulties, classes and Suppressions has verily safeguarded her identity and existence and remained stern. It is not a problem to be solved easily and looked over but suffices the best just to mention and propounded here.

What cannot be helped without saying is the peculiarity of Persian language as the most important factor of existence and identification for Sufi orders in China. As pointed earlier, official and cultural language of Chinese Muslims particularly Sufis, since the preaching of Islam in China and beginning of Sufi sects, has been Persian. All the texts and teaching booklets common among them were also in Persian.[16] In this way, continuity and permanence of these sects owes to identity and importance of Persian among Sufis. Chinese language converted into the cultural mid mystical Language of Sufis equals the conversion of their thoughts and cosmology and getting lost of their actuality and identity. For historical experience has proved the inability of Chinese language as being the interpreter of subtle and special beliefs and ideas of Islam.

Therefore, the core of the Hu Dengzhou Islamic traditional education which established at the end of 19th century and based on learning Islamic theology and translating religious texts in Chinese did not succeed in its objectives.

The basic reason is that while translating Islamic texts from Persian or Arabic, due to the Chinese background Buddhist and Taoist diction and terminology inflects its cultural and practical impression. In this way spiritual factors of Islamic thought-the view- points and Buddhist expressions probe into the mind which are different from the real thinking and objectives. It is apparent from the Chinese translations of Islamic texts and sacred scriptions completely, that particular Islamic culture and cosmology is covered under the reflection and synthesis of Tao-Buddhist style and imagery.

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[3] Some of the Persian sayings of intentions for prayers and other religious occasions are described in in the book: *Kitab i Zashiya* (Zakua), Ururn(li (China), 1960

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[5] Bakhtvar M., Estifi, *Papers on Iranian Studies in China*, Peking University Press, 1993, pp 44 - 50. I lu0zhe Gaiyesuding, Shahalu qianshi Zhongguo ji, He Gao vi , Zhonghua Press, Beijing, 1981, p 119. Huang Shijjan, *The Persian language in China during the Yuan dynasty, Papers on Far Eastern History* 34, Canberra, 1985, pp 84-89.

[6] For more details see: Igor de Rachewiltz, Papal Envoys to the Great Khans, London, 1971. Mazaheri A., La Route dc la Soie, Paris, 1983, p. 24.

[7] Pelliot Paul, Les Mongols et la Papaute, Revue de I'Orient Chr~tien, 22 (1922-23), pp. 1-28

[8] 'Abd A-Raḥmān Jāmi, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, Tehran, 1373, p 388

[9] Zaytun is the transcription of "Cuong", the old Chinese nanic of the city, not related by the Arabic loan-word "Zaytun" (olive)

[10] See: Chen Dasheng et Ludvik Kalus, Corpus d Inscription Arabes et Persanes en Chine, vol 1, Paris, 1991. Guo Cherignici and Guo Qunnici, *A study on the Islamic Graves-lones in Persian and Arabic in Hangzhou*, Jiaxiang (China), 1994 (in Chinese and English)

[11] Zain al-Abedin Shirwani, Bostan al-Siaho, Tehran, 1315, pp 305-308; Navib al-Sadr, *Taraeq al-Haqaeq*, Tehran (n.d.), vol 111, pp 523-28.

[12] *Rahlat-o Jbn-i Baiota*, Cairo 1964, vol 1, pp. 134, 136

[13] Chinese scholar Che Muqi has narrated the complete biography of Xiangfei with reference to Chinese sources in the following book: Che Muqi, *The Silk Road*, Past and present, Bejing, 1989, pp. 254-61.

[14] Bakhtyar Mozafar You Hanyu yi wei Posiyu de zui zao wenxin Posiyu de zui zao, wenxin, Donkfang. Wenlua guoji sueshu yantahui lunwer ityao, Peking University Press 1991, pp. 116-27. Bakhtyar M., Abstracts of Papers, International Seminar of the Maritime Silk Route and the Islamic Culture, Quarizhou (China), 1994, p 27.

[15] See: Zhang Cheiitvzlii, Xinfing shi, GuanozItou, 1991 (in Chinese, printed 360 copies only). 7II1e author was not Muslim, accepted Islam and then joined the Jahriya sect, mentions on page 268 that adherents have kept the writings of their leaders in manuscript form, and have copied them vigorously. They do not, however, reveal the content of the texts to non-followers. Zhang Cherigzhi, the author of the book is Professor of Japanese and a famous writer in China.

[16] Bakhtyar Mozafar, Sadi zai xifang werixtie zhong de chonggo diwei, Guowai wenrue, 1, 1993, pp 70-79. Nigxia zhexue shehui kexue yanjiusuo, Qing dai zhongguo Yisilanjia lunji, Yinchuan, 1981, pp. 340-369.

IQBAL STUDIES:
GUEST SCHOLARS

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IQBAL AND RODWELL'S TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'AN

Dr. Siddique Javed

★★★

A STUDY OF IQBAL'S POETICAL PRAYERS

Abdur Rehman Saleh

★★★

IQBAL AND RODWELL'S TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'AN

Dr Siddique Javed

It is generally believed that the passages of the Holy Koran, translated in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* by Allama Iqbal, were the rendered by Iqbal himself. To analyse the assumption, I started to investigate the issue a couple of years ago. After going through almost all the English translations of the Qur'an, made before 1928, it transpired that Iqbal must have adopted the English version form J. M. Rodwell's translation of the Qur'an. At that moment I hesitated to pursue that matter any further because it was well known in the circles of Iqbal Studies that Prof. M. Saeed Sheikh was already engaged in making a study of the sources used by Iqbal in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, which were not explicit or mentioned by the author. He finally accomplished this assignment in 1984.

Professor M. Saeed Sheikh prepared an annotated edition of Allama Iqbal's *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Everyone involved in literary research or criticism is aware of the fact that editing and annotation is in itself a tiresome and laborious job but the problems and difficulties Professor M. Saeed Sheikh had to face could not be overstated. He did his job with diligence, perseverance. Moreover, he consummated his undertaking with exemplary patience. This is really a scholarly achievement, which would always be admired and remembered. The editor has tried his best to trace and provide the references to many authors and passages quoted without their antecedents. The editor while giving the explanation of the passages quoted in the lectures of Iqbal maintains in his introduction that:

> The work, however, referred to more often than any other, and quoted most, is the Quran. Of a large number of passages quoted from it, about seventy seven, generally set apart from the main text, carry numbered references to the Quranic Surahs and Verses…."

Professor M. Saeed Sheikh has not explicitly stated, whether these Quranic passages were rendered by Iqbal himself or he had borrowed

them from some one other's translation. The present writer is convinced that Professor Saeed has just skipped to mention, otherwise he, probably, knew it fully well that Iqbal had adopted the translation of these passages from J. M. Rodwell whom he has mentioned in his bibliography's second section, captioned, "Secondary, Works And Articles Referred to in Notes and Text". It is enlisted on page 213 of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* edited by him as "Rodwell, J. M. (tr.), *The Koran* (1876 London), 1948" but I have not been able to find any reference to Rodwell in the Notes or Text, edited by Professor Sheikh.

Dr. Rafi-ud-Din Hashmi published his Ph.D. thesis on 9th November 1982. It was in his scope to take note of the translation of the Quranic passages, while discussing the *Reconstruction*. He glided silently over this aspect, very vital for such studies. Earlier Syed Nazir Niazi in his Urdu Translation of *Reconstruction*, studiously substituted the English version, with the original Quranic text. He also did not have the occasion to mention the English translator. For years it remained in my mind that Dr. Schimmel has just enlisted Rodwell in her bibliography of *Gabriel's Wing* without any comment. But there is no mention of Rodwell in the Bibliography at all. It was my fateful lethargy that I had not consulted index of Schimmel's 'Gabriel's Wing'. Otherwise, most probably, I would have not spent my time and energy in tracing and comparing the passages quoted by Iqbal, with the original translation.

My humble search to identify the translator commenced about twenty years ago. Very soon I had my target but I could not take advantage of it. The work was not accelerated. The time to start was abnormally long. During these years there were inevitable long pauses and intervals, some obstructions and obstacles. At least four times I destroyed my materials collected for this study, but ranking won't abandon me. I was forced by inner demand to take the assignment afresh. Today i.e. in 1998 while writing introduction to the article, it was revealed that quoting a letter dated 19.10.1961 by Dr. A. Chughtay to Dr. Schimmel has recorded that:

> Besides the text, he (Iqbal) used generally the translation by J.M. Rodwell (1861)" which was always on his right hand though he might use in this respect any book which was easily available to him and rightly serve his purpose."

This is just a passing remark. It did not explain the manner Iqbal used translation by Rodwell. In the following pages the passages quoted in the lectures are compared with the versions of Rodwell, which indicate that throughout the writing of the lectures, Iqbal had constantly with him *The Koran* translated by Rodwell. It reveals Iqbal used, while writing in English, Rodwell exhaustively, when and where he had the occasion to quote any Quranic Verse. It is apparent that only that person could use Rodwell, the way Iqbal had who was well versed in the original text.

In view of scarce biographical information at hand, it was deemed profitable to reproduce the short and compact biographical note of J. M. Rodwell from *Dictionary of National Biography*, in its entirety. It states:

(RODWELL, JOHN MEDOWS (1808-1900)

RODWELL, JOHN MEDOWS (1808-1900), Orientalist, eldest son of John Medows Rodwell and Marianna Kedington, was born at Barham Hall, Suffolk, on 11 April 1808. Educated at Bury St. Edmunds under Dr. Malkin, he was admitted on 10 Nov. 1825 to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he held a scholarship (1827-30) and was like–wise stroke of the first college boat; as an undergraduate he was also a contemporary and friend of Darwin, and used to accompany him on botanising expeditions. He graduated B.A. 1830, M.A. 1833, and was ordained deacon at Norwich on 5 June 1831, and priest at London on 17 June . After curacies at Barham, where his uncle, William Kirby (1759-1850) [q. v.], was vicar, and at Woodford, Essex, he became rector of St. Peter's, Saffron Hill, London (1836-43), and lecturer at St. Andrew's, Holborn. In 1843 Bishop Blomfield gave him the valuable rectory of St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate, which he held till his death; but after some thirty-five years of active work he retired, with the bishop's sanction, under a medical certificate, from residential duty. Some of the curates–in–charge after this time introduced a ceremonial ritual into the church which evoked the opposition of protestant agitators.

Rodwell appears to have commenced oriental studies when quite a young man, by reading Hebrew with his uncle, the Rev. R. Kedington. In acquiring the elements of Arabic he was assisted by Catafago.

His greatest literary achievement was his English version of the Koran, which appeared in 1861 (2nd edit. 1876), and is considered by many scholars as the best existing translation, combining accuracy with a faithful representation of the literary garb of the original. His other works are: translation of 'Job' (1864; 2nd edit. 1868). He also issued translations collected liturgies from Ethiopic manuscripts (1864), and from the Coptic (1866), and briefly catalogued Lord Crawford's Coptic and Ethiopic manuscripts at Haigh Hall. The value of his work was recognised by his election to an honorary fellowship of his college on 7 Oct. 1886. Rodwell's extraordinary retentiveness of mental vigour may be estimated from the fact that he commenced the study of several fresh languages when past eighty years of age, and even in his 91st year (June 1898) printed a short pamphlet or open letter on the derivation and doctrinal significance of the word 'mass,' and some–what later corresponded with the present writer as to books for the acquirement of Sanskrit.

He died at his house at Sr. Leonard-on-Sea on 6 June 1900, and is buried in Ore Cemetery, Hastings.

Rodwell was twice married: (1) in 1834 to Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. William Parker, Rodwell's predecessor at St. Ethel-burga's, and (2) about 1860, to Louisa Rohrs. Of several children by his first wife, the Rev. W.M. Rodwell and another son survived him.

[Personal knowledge and private information; Rodwell's Works' J. Venn's *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, Cambridge, ii. 198.] C.B.

Rodwell's translation of "The Koran' first appeared in 1861 (2nd edition 1876)". It was published again in 1909 by Everyman's Library. Professor M. Saeed Sheikh enlisted Rodwell in his bibliography of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* as follow:

Rodwell, J.M. (tr.), *The Koran* (1876) London, 1948. He has not mentioned the publisher or place of publication of 1948 edition. No other person has mentioned edition 1948. After 1909 Everyman's Library re–issued it in 1992 Reprinted, latest edition appeared in 1994.

It won't amount to repetition to recapitulate the background of the present study. Until recently we presumed that the Quranic passages which Iqbal has quoted in his lectures in English were rendered by Iqbal himself. Like me, many readers believed that Iqbal himself has translated the relevant passages.

It would not be in the fitness of the things to retrace the history of numerous translations of the Qur'an in European and English languages. However, for information of the general English reading public it is quoted from the *Dictionary of Islam*:

The first Egnlish Quran was Alexander Ross's translation of Dr. Ryer's French version (1649-1688). Sale's well-known work first appeared in 1734, and has since passed through numerous editions. A translation by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell, with the Surahs arranged in chronological order was printed in 1861 (2nd ed. 1876). Professor Palmer of Cambridge, translated the Quran in 1880 (Oxford Press).

Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar in his Introduction to the translation of the Holy Quran pronounces Sale's, Rodwell's and Palmer's translations as "Three notable English translations of The Holy Quran by Christians.3 According to Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar:

Rodwell's translation is most careful piece of work done in an extremely scholarly way, and although there are many mistakes, they are not of such a nature as to call for adverse criticism…

Rodwell is a great scholar but he is also as great an opponent of Islam as any other Christian ever was…… we know that George Sale undertook to translate the Holy Quran in order to have the pleasure of overthrowing it. Nearly a century and a quarter afterwards (in fact a little

over) Rodwell, knowing the failure of Sale's attempt, undertakes to translate the Holy Quran, and why? In order to confuse Islam! To make it look like a mass of disjointed circumstances.... Some times Rodwell's desire to belittle the Holy Quran leads him to take up a most absurd position, and the scholar in him sinks into a bigoted unbeliever.2

According to Arberry:

> Rodwell was concerned- and he was the first English translator so to be preoccupied – with attempting in some degree to imitate the style of the Arabic original"3

Muhammad Baqir Behbudi writes in the *Introduction of the Quran: A New Interpretation*, "George Sale's translation, published in 1734, was based on the infamous Maracci Version ..... given that Maracci's proclaimed intention was to discredit Islam .... Rodwell's translation, first published in 1861, offers another example of anti-Muslim writer gunning for Islam1"

According to an article on Rodwell in *Dictionary of National Biography* 2nd edition of Rodwell's Translation of the Qur'an was published in 1876. Professor Sheikh has mentioned in his bibliography another edition dated 1949 along with the 2nd edition (1876). There appeared a famous and popular edition of Rodwell in 1909. This edition was published by the Everyman's Library in hardbound pocket size, it was edited by Professor G. Margoliouth. Everyman Library has re-issued an edition in 1992. Its latest edition is of 1994. Later three editions are edited by Alan Jones of the Oriental Institute, Oxford. He writes in the Foreword that:

> ".....unlike his translation, Rodwell's preface has not withstood the test of time, and both it and some later introductory remarks by Professor G. Margoliouth are here replaced by my new introduction, which takes into account more recent scholarship. Some of Rodwell's obsolete notes have also been pruned. There has been one other significant change. Rodwell arranged the Suras into what he thought was the proper chronological order. It is now realised that such an ordering is mistaken..... The Suras have therefore been put back into the traditional order."

In the following pages the Quranic passages taken from *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* and their corresponding version from Rodwell's translation are reproduced side by side. It demonstrates that quotations used by Iqbal are almost true copy of Rodwell's translation, except some very minor changes in punctuation or substitution of capital letters with small letters at some places.

Apart from the *Reconstruction* Iqbal had used Rodwell in his article: "Islam As A Moral and Political Ideal" (1909). In a presidential lecture titled "A Plea for Deeper Study of the Muslim Scientists." (1929) Iqbal

has quoted three passages of the Holy Qur'an which are the translation of Rodwell.

It is evident that Iqbal has benefited from Rodwell's Translation since the first decade of the twentieth Century.

COMPARATIVE TEXTS

'We have not created the Heavens and Earth and whatever is between them in sport. We have not created them but for a serious end: but the greater part of them understand it not' (44:38-39).22

Reconstruction p.8

We have not created the Heavens and Earth, and whatever is between them in sport:
We have not created them but for a serious end:3 but the greater part of them understand it not.

J. M. Rodwell, Edition 1909. P. 90
J. M. Rodwell, Edition 1994. P.335.

'Verily in the creation of the Heavens and of the earth, and in the succession of the night and of the day, are signs for men of understanding; who, standing and sitting and reclining, bear God in mind and reflect on the creation of the Heavens and of the earth, and say: "Oh, our Lord! Thou hast not created this in vain" (8: 190-91).

Reconstruction, 19 p.8

Verily, in the creation of the Heavens and of the Earth, and in the succession of the night and of the day, are signs for men of understanding heart;
Who standing, and sitting, and reclining, bear God in mind, and muse on the creation of the Heavens and of the Earth. "O our Lord!" say they, "thou hast not created this in vain.

Rodwell, 1909. P. 404
Ibid, 1994. P. 48

'He (God) adds to His creation what He wills' (35:1)

Reconstruction, p.8

He addeth to his creature what He will!

Rodwell, 1909, p. 289
Ibid, 1994. P. 288

'Say-Go through the earth and see how God hath brought forth all creation; hereafter will He give it another birth' (29:20).

Reconstruction p.8

Say, go through the earth, and see how he hath brought forth created beings. Hereafter, with a second birth will God cause them to be born again;

Rodwell, 1994, p. 264.

'God causeth the day and the night to take their turn. Verily in this is teaching for men of insight' (24:44)

Reconstruction p.8

God causeth the day and the night to take their turn.
Varily in this is teaching for men of insight.

Roadwell, 1909 P.447
Ibid, 1994 p. 234

'See ye not how God hath put under you all that is in the Heavens, and all that is on the earth, and hath been bounteous to you of His favours both in relation to the seen and the unseen?' (31:20)

Reconstruction p.9.

See ye not how that God hath put under you all that is in the heavens and all that is on the earth, and hath been bounteous to you of his favours both for soul and body.1

Rodwell, 1994, p. 273, 1909, p. 269.

'Or the seen and unseen, lit., outwardly and inwardly.

Rodwell, 1909, p.269
Notes: *Rodwell* 1994, 474.

'And He hath subjected to you the night and the day, the sun and the moon, and the stars too are subject to you be His behest; verily in this are signs for those who understand' (16:12).

Reconstruction. P.9

And He hath subjected to you the night and the day; the sun and the moon and the stars too are subjected to you by his behest; verily, in this are signs for those who understand:

Rodwell. 1909 p. 201
Rodwell. 1994 p.172.

"That of goodliest fabric We created man, then brought him down to the lowest of the low' (95:4-5).

Reconstruction. P.9

That of goodliest fabric we created man,
Then brought him down to be the lowest of the low;

Rodwell, 1909. P. 41
Rodwell, 1994. P. 421.

'Verily We proposed to the Heavens and to the earth and to the mountains to receive the trust (of personality), but they refused the burden and they feared to receive it. Man alone undertook to bear it, but hath proved unjust, senseless!' (33:72).

Reconstruction, p..9.

Verily, we proposed to the Heavens, and to the Earth, and to the Mountains *to receive* the Faith, but they refused the burden, and they feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it, but hath proved unjust, senseless!

Rodwell, 1909, p. 331
Rodwell, 1994, p. 283.

'Thinketh man that he shall be thrown away as an object of no use?. Was he not a mere embryo? Then he became thick blood of which

God formed him and fashioned him, and made him twain, male and female. Is not He powerful enough to quicken the dead?' (75:36-40).

Reconstruction, p.9.

Thinketh man that he shall be left supreme?
Was he not a mere embryo?5
Then he became thick blood of which God formed him and fashioned him;
And made him twain, male and female.
Is not He powerful enough to quicken the dead?

Rodwell, 1909, p. 56-57
Ibid, 1994, p. 401

'It needs not that I swear by the sunset redness and by the night and its gatherings and by the moon when at her full, that from state to state shall ye be surely carried onward' (84:16-19)

Reconstruction, p. 10.

It needs not therefore that I swear by the sunset redness,
And by the night and its gatherings,
And by the moon when at her full,
That from state to state shall ye be surely carried onward.2

Rodwell, 1909. P. 47
Rodwell, 1994, p. 413

'Verily God will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves' (13:11)
Reconstruction. P. 10.

Verily,-God will not change his gifts to men, till they change what is in themselves:

Rodwell. 1909, p. 334.
Rodwell, 1994, p.159

'When thy Lord said to the Angels, "Verily I am about to place one in my stead on earth", they said, "Wilt Thou place there one who will do ill and shed blood, when we celebrate Thy praise and extol Thy holiness?" God said, "Verily I know what ye know not!" And He taught Adam the names of all things, and then set them before the Angels, and said, "Tell me the names of these if ye are endowed with wisdom". They said, "Praise be to Thee! We have no knowledge but what Thou hast given us to know. Thou are the Knowing, the Wise". He said, "O Adam! inform them of the names". And when he had informed them of the names, God said, "Did I not say to you that I know the hidden things of the Heavens and of the Earth, and that I know what ye bring to light and what ye hide?"' (2:30-33)

Reconstruction, P.10.

When thy Lord said to the angels, "Verily, I am about to place one in my stead on earth,"6 they said, "Wilt thou place there one who will

do ill therein and shed blood, when we celebrate thy praise and extol thy holiness?" God said 'Verily, I know what ye know not."
And he taught Adam the names of all things, and then set them before the angels! and said, "Tell me the names of these, if ye are endued with wisdom."2
They said, "Praise be to Thee! We have no knowledge but what Thou hast given us to know. Thou! Thou art the Knowing, the Wise."
He said, "O Adam, inform them of their names." And when he had informed them of their names, He said, "Did I not say to you that I know the hidden things of the Heavens and of the Earth, and that I know what ye bring to light, and what ye hide?"

Rodwell 1909, p. 340-41
Rodwell 1994, p.5

'Assuredly, in the creation of the Heavens and of the Earth; and in the alternation of night and day; and in the ships which pass through the sea with what is useful to man; and in the rain which God sendeth down from Heavens, giving life to the earth after its death, and scattering over it all kinds of cattle, and in the change of the winds, and in the clouds that are made to do service between the Heavens and the Earth-are signs for those who understand (2:164).

Reconstruction, p. 11.

Assuredly in the creation of the Heavens and of the Earth; and in the alternation of night and day; and in the ships which pass through the sea with what is useful to man; and in the rain which God sendeth down from Heaven, giving life by it to the earth after its death, and by scattering over it all kinds of cattle; and in the change of the winds, and in the clouds that are made to do service between the Heaven and the Earth–are sings for those who understand.

Rodwell 1909, p. 355.
Rodwell 1994, p. 17.

'And it is He Who hath ordained for you that ye may be guided thereby in the darkness of the land and of the sea! Clear have We made Our signs to *men of knowledge*. And it is He Who hath created you of one breath, and hath provided you an abode and resting place (in the womb). Clear have We made Our signs for *men of insight*! And it is He Who sendeth down rain from Heaven: and We bring forth by it the buds of all the plants and from them bring We forth the green foliage, and the close-growing grain, and palm trees with sheaths of clustering dates, and gardens of grapes, and the olive, and the pomegranate, like and unlike. Look you on their fruits when they ripen. Truly herein are signs unto people who believe' (6:97-99).

Reconstruction p, 11.

And it is He who hath ordained the stars for you that ye may be guided thereby in the darknesses of the land and of the sea! Clear have we made our signs to men of knowledge.
And it is He who hath produced you from one man, and hath *provided for you* an abode and resting–place! [1] Clear have we made our signs for men of insight.
And it is He who sendeth down rain from Heaven: and we bring forth by it the buds of all the plants, and from them bring. We forth the green foliage, and the close growing grain, and palm trees with sheaths of clustering dates, and gardens of grapes, and the olive and the pomegranate, like and unlike.[2] Look ye on their fruits when they fruit and ripen. Truly herein are signs unto people who believe.

Rodwell, 1909. P. 326.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 88.

'Hast thou not seen how thy Lord lengthens out the shadow. Had He pleased He had made it motionless. But We made the sun to be its guide; then draw it in unto Us with easy in–drawing' (25:45-46).

Reconstruction-11.

Hast thou not seen how thy Lord lengtheneth out the shadow? Had He placed He had made it motionless.3
But we made the sun to be its guide;
Then draw it in unto us with easy in–drawing.

Rodwell p. 1909, p. 162
Rodwell 1994. P. 239

'Can they not look up to the clouds, how they are created; and to the Heaven how it is up–raised; and to the mountains how they are rooted, and to the earth how it is out–spread? (88:17-20).

Reconstruction, P. 11.

Can they not look up to the clouds, how they are created,
And to the Heaven how it is up–raised;
And to the mountains how they are rooted;
'And among His signs are the creation of the Heaven and of the Earth, and your variety of tongues and colour. Herein truly are signs for all men' (30:22)

Reconstruction. P. 11.

And among his signs are the creation of the Heavens and of the Earth, and your variety of tongues and colour. Herein truly are signs for all men.

Rodwell, 1909, p. 212.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 269.

'God hath made everything which He hath created most good; and began the creation of man with clay; then ordained his progeny from germs of life, from sorry water; then shaped him, and breathed of His

spirit into him, and gave you hearing and seeing and *heart:* what little thanks do ye return?' (32:7-9).

Reconstruction, P. 12.

Who hath made everything which he hath created most good; and began the creation of man with clay;
Then ordained his progeny from germs of life,[3] from sorry water:
Then shaped him, and breathed of His Spirit into him, and gave you hearing and seeing and hearts: what little thanks do ye return!

Rodwell 1909, p. 190
Rodwell 1994, p. 275.

'And your Lord saith, call Me and I respond to your call' (40:60)

Reconstruction, p.16.

And your Lord saith, "Call upon me–I will hearken unto you.

Rodwell 1909, p. 244
Rodwell 1994, p. 317.

'And when My servants ask thee concerning Me, then I am nigh unto them and answer the cry of him that crieth unto Me' (2:186).

Reconstruction, P. 16.

And when my servants ask thee concerning me, then will I be nigh unto them. I will answer the cry of him that crieth,

Rodwell 1909, p. 357
Rodwell 1994, p. 19.

'It is not for man that God should speak with him, but by vision or from behind a veil; or He sendeth a messenger to reveal by His permission what He will: for He is Exalted, Wise' (42:51)

Reconstruction p, 16

It is not for man that God should speak with him but by vision, or from behind a veil:
Or, He sendeth a messenger to reveal, by his permission, what He will: for He is Exalted, Wise!

Rodwell 1909, p. 274
Rodwell 1994, p. 328.

'By the star when it setteth,
Your compatriot erreth not, nor is he led astray.
Neither speaketh he from mere impulse.
The Qur'an is no other than the revelation revealed to him:
One strong in power taught it him,
Endowed with wisdom with even balance stood he
In the highest part of the horizon:
Then came he nearer and approached,
And was at the distance of two bows or even closer–
And he revealed to the servant of God what he revealed:
His heart falsified not what he saw:
What! Will ye then dispute with him as to what he saw?

He had seen him also another time
Near the sidrah tree which marks the boundary:
Near which is the garden of repose:
When the Sidrah tree was covered with what covered it;
His eye turned not aside, nor did it wander:
For he saw the greatest of the signs of the Lord' (53: 1-18).

Reconstruction,-p. 16-17.

We have not sent any Apostle or Prophet before Thee among whose desires Satan injected not some wrong desire, but God shall bring to naught that which Satan had suggested. Thus shall God affirm His revelations, for God is Knowing and Wise.

Reconstruction, P. 19 (22:52)

'We have not sent any apostle or prophet before thee, among whose desires Satan' injected not some wrong desire, but God shall bring to naught that which Satan had suggested. Thus shall God affirm His revelations for God is Knowing, Wise!(22:52)

Rodwell 1994. P. 221.

By the STAR when it setteth,
Your compatriot erreth not, nor is he led astray,
Neither speaketh he from mere impulse.
The *Koran* is not other than a revelation revealed to him:
One terrible in power taught it him,
Endued with wisdom. With even balance stood he
In the highest part of the horizon:
Then came he nearer and approached,
And was at the distance of two bows or even closer,-
And he revealed to his servant what he revealed.
His heart falsified not what he saw.
What! Will ye then dispute with him as to what he saw? He He seen him also another time,
Near the Sidrah-tree, which marks the boundary.

Near which is the garden of repose.
When the Sidrah–tree[4] was covered with what covered it,
His eye turned not aside, nor did it wander:
For he saw the greatest of the signs of his Lord.

Rodwell 1909, p. 69-70
Rodwell 1994, p. 357-58

'verily, in the alternations of night and of day and in all that God hath created in the Heavens and in the earth are signs to those who fear Him' (10:6).

Reconstruction, P. 37

Verily, in the alternations of night and of day, and in all that God hath created in the Heavens and in the Earth are signs to those who fear Him.

Rodwell 1909, p.275
Rodwell 1994, p. 131

'And it is He Who hath ordained the night and the day to succeed one another for those who desire to *think* on God or desire to be thankful' (25:62)

Reconstruction, P. 37

And it is He who hath ordained the night and the day to succeed one another for those who desire to think on God or desire to be thankful.

Rodwell 1909, p. 163
Rodwell 1994, p. 240.

'Seest thou not that God causeth the night to come in upon the day, and the day to come in upon the night; and that He hath subjected the sun and the moon to laws by which each speedeth along to an appointed goal?' (31:29)

Reconstruction, P. 37

Seest thou not that God causeth the night to come in upon the day, and the day to come in upon the night? And that he hath subjected the sun and the moon to laws by which each speedeth along to an appointed goal?

'It is of Him that the night returneth on the day, and that the day returneth on the night' (39:5)

Reconstruction, P. 37

It is of Him that the night returneth upon the day and that the day returneth upon the night:

Rodwell 1909, p. 255
Rodwell 1994, p. 307.

'And of Him is the change of the night and of the day' (23:80)

Reconstruction, P. 37

And of Him is the change of the night and of the day:

Rodwell 1909, p. 148
Rodwell 1994, p. 228

And of Him is the change of the night and of the day.

Reconstruction, P. 47

And of Him is the change of the night and of the day. (*Rodwell*, 1994, p.228)

'All things We have created with a fixed destiny: Our command was but one, swift as the twinkling of an eye.' (54:49-50)

Reconstruction p. 39.

'All things We have created after a fixed decree: Our command was but one word swift as the twinkling of an eye.'

Rodwell 1909, p. 78.
Rodwell 1994, p. 362.

'He can afford to dispense with all the worlds'.

Reconstruction, p.45.

'Naught' is like Him; yet 'He hears and sees'.

Reconstruction, p.45.

'And verily unto thy Lord is the limit' (53: 42)

Reconstruction, p.45

According to Mr. Saeed Sheikh" Note: Reference is to the Quranic verse 23:80 quoted on p.37 above.

23:80 Sh. Saeed
23:82 *Rodwell* 1994
23:82 *Tashkeel*

And put thou thy trust in Him that liveth and dieth not, and celebrate His praise Who in six days created the Heavens and the Earth, and what is between them, then mounted His Throne; the God of mercy. 25:58-59

Reconstruction, p.39

And put thou thy trust in Him that liveth and dieth not, and clelbrate His praise; (He fully knoweth the faults of his servants) who in six days created the Heavens and the Earth, and whatever is between them, then mounted his Throne:

Rodwell 1909, p. 163
Rodwell 1994 p. 240

'All things We have created with a fixed destiny: Our command was but one, swift as the twinkling of an eye. 54:49-50

Reconstruction, p.39

All things have We created after a fixed decree;
Our command was but one word, swift as the twinkling of an eye.

Rodwell 1909, p. 78
Rodwell 1994, p. 362

'Can afford to dispense with all the worlds'36

Reconstruction, p.45

Can afford to dispense with all creatures,

Rodwell 1994, p. 40

'Naught' is like Him; yet 'He hears and sees'

Reconstruction, p.45

Naught is there like Him; the Hearer, the Beholder He!

Rodwell 1994, p. 324

'And verily unto thy Lord is the limit' (53:42)

Reconstruction, p.45

And that unto thy Lord is the term of all things (53:42)

Rodwell 1909, p. 71
Rodwell 1994, p. 359.

'Say Allah is One:
All things depend on Him;
He begetteth not, and He is not begotten:
'And there is none like unto Him' (112: 1-4)

Reconstruction p.50

Say: He is God alone:
God the eternal!
He begetteth not, and He is not begotten;
And there is none like unto Him

Rodwell 1909, p. 29
Rodwell 1994, p. 429

'God is the light of the Heavens and of the Earth. His light is like a niche in which is a lamp-the encased in a glass, as it were, a star'5 (24:35).

Reconstruction p.51

God is the LIGHT of the Heavens of the Earth. His Light is like a niche in which is a lamp–the lamp encased in glass–the glass, as it were, a glistening star.

Rodwell 1909, p. 446-47
Rodwell 1994, p. 233

'And no one thing is here, but with Us are its store-houses; and We send it not down but in fixed quantities' (15:21)

Reconstruction, p.54

And no one thing is there, but with Us are its store houses;
And We send it not down but in settled measure:

Rodwell 1909, p. 113
Rodwell 1994, p. 168.

'God adds to His creation what He wills. (39:1)

Rodwell 1909, p. 289.
Rodwell 1994, p. 288.

.....nearer to man than his own neck-vein 50:16
.....closer to him (man) than his neck-vein

Rodwell 1909 p. 92.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 351.

'We created you; then fashioned you; then said We to the angels, "prostrate yourself unto Adam;" (7:11)

Reconstruction, p.66

We created you: then fashioned you; then said We to the angels, "Prostrate yourselves unto Adam:

Rodwell 1909, p. 294.
Rodwell 1994, p. 45.

And We have established
You on the earth and given you therein the supports of life. How little do ye give thanks!' (7:10).55

Reconstruction, p.67

And now have We established you on the earth, and given you therein the supports of life. How little do ye give thanks!

Rodwell 1909, p. 294

Rodwell 1994, p. 45

'And for trial will We test you with evil and with good' (21:35).62

Reconstruction, p.68

And for trial will we prove you with evil and with good.

Rodwell 1909, p. 153.

Rodwell 1994, p. 212.

'But Satan whispered him (Adam): said he, O Adam! Shall I show thee the tree of Eternity and the Kingdom that faileth not? And they both ate thereof, and their nakedness appeared to them, and they began to sew of the leaves of the garden to cover them, and Adam disobeyed his Lord, and went astray. Afterwards his Lord chose him for Himself, and was turned towards him, and guided him.' (20: 120-22)

Reconstruction, p.69

But Satan whispered him: said he, "O Adam! Shall I shew thee the tree of Eternity,[5] and the Kingdom that faileth not?

And they both ate thereof, and their nakedness appeared to them, and they began to sew of the leaves of the Garden to cover them, and Adam disobeyed his Lord and went astray.

Afterwards his Lord chose him for himself, and was turned towards him, and guided him.)

Rodwell 1909, p. 101

Rodwell 1994, p. 209.

'Verily We proposed to the Heavens and to the Earth and to the mountains to receive the "trust" but they refused the burden and they feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it, but hath proved unjust, senseless' (33:72)

Reconstruction, p. 70

Verily, we proposed to the Heavens and to the Earth, and to the Mountains to receive the Faith, but they refused the burden, and they feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it, but hath proved unjust, senseless!

'God is equal to His purpose, but most men know it not' (12:21).

Reconstruction, p. 70

God is equal to his purpose; but most men know it not.

Rodwell 1909. P. 232.

Rodwell 1994, p. 151.

'To every people have We appointed ways of worship which they observe. Therefore let them not dispute this matter with thee, but bid them to thy Lord for thou art on the right way: but if they debate with

thee, then say: God best knoweth what ye do! He will judge between you on the Day of Resurrection as to the matters wherein ye differ (22:67-69).

Reconstruction, p. 74

To every people have we appointed observances which they observe. Therefore, let them not dispute this matter with thee, but bid them to thy Lord, for thou art on the righ way:
But if they debate with thee, then Say:God best knoweth what ye do! God will judge between you on the day of resurrection, as to the matter where in ye differ.

Rodwell 1909, p. 459
Rodwell 1994, p. 222.

'The East and West is God's therefore whichever way ye turn, there is the face of God' (2:115).

Reconstruction, p. 74

The East and the West is God's: therefore, whichever way ye turn, there is the face of God:

Rodwell 1909 p. 350.
Rodwell 1994, p. 13.

'There is no piety in turning your faces towards the East or the West, but he is pious who believeth in God, and the Last Day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets; who for the love of God disburseth his wealth to his kindred, and to the orphans, and the needy, and the way–farer, and those who ask, and for ransoming; who observeth prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and who is of those who are faithful to their engagements when they have engaged in them; and patient under ills and hardships, in time of trouble: those are they who are just, and those are they who fear the Lord' (2:177).

Reconstruction, p. 74

There is no piety in turning your faces toward the east or the west put he is pious who believeth in God, and the last day, and the angels, and the Scriptures, and the prophets; who for the love of God disburseth his wealth to his kindred, and to the orphans, and the needy, and the way–farer, and those who ask, and for ransoming; who observeth prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and who is of those who are faithful to their engagements when they have engaged in them, and patient under ills and hardships, and in time of trouble: these are they who are just, and these are they who fear the Lord.

Rodwell, 1909, p. 356.
Rodwell 1994, p. 18.

'Afterwards his Lord chose him Adam for himself and turned towards him, and guided him' (20: 122).

Reconstruction, p. 76

Afterwards his Lord chose him for himself, and was turned towards him, and guided him.

Rodwell 1909, p. 101.

Rodwell 1994, p. 209.

'When thy Lord said to the angels, "Verily, I am about to place one in my stead on Earth", they said, "Wilt Thou place there one who will do ill therein and shed blood, when we celebrate Thy praise and extol Thy holiness? "God said, "Verily I know what you know not"' (2:30). 'And it is He Who hath made you His representative on the Earth, and hath raised some of you above others by various grades, that He may prove you by His gifts' (6:165).

Reconstruction, p. 76

When thy Lord said to the angels. "Verily, I am about to place one in my stead on earth," they said, "Wilt thou place there one who will do ill therein and shed blood, when we celebrate thy praise and extol thy holiness" God said, "Verily, I know what ye know not.

Rodwell 1909, p. 340

Rodwell 1994, p.5.

And it is He who hath made you the successors of others on the earth, and hath raised some of you above others by various grades, that he may prove you by his gifts.

Rodwell 1909, p. 333.

Rodwell 1994, p. 95

'Verily We proposed to the Heavens, and to the Earth, and to the Mountains to receive the "trust", but they refused the burden and they feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it, but hath proved unjust, senseless!' (33: 72).

Reconstruction p. 76

'Verily, we proposed to the Heavens, and to the earth, and to the Mountains to receive the Faith, but they refused the burden, and they feared to receive it. Man undertook to bear it, but hath proved unjust, senseless!

Rodwell 1909, p. 441.

Rodwell 1994, p. 283.

'Anc they ask thee of the *soul,*. Say: the *soul* proceedeth from my Lord's Amr Command*: but of knowledge, only a little to you in given (17: 85).*

Reconstruction p. 82

'Anc they ask thee of the *spirit,*. Say: the *spirit* proceedeth from my Lord's *Amr Command: but of knowledge, only a little to you is given.*

Rodwell 1909, p. 171

Rodwell 1994, p. 186.

'Every man acteth after his own manner: but your Lord well knoweth who is best guided in his path' (17: 84).

Command: but of knowledge, only a little to you on given (17: 85).

Reconstruction, p. 82

Say: Every one acteth after his own manner: but your Lord well knoweth who is best guided in his path.

Rodwell, 1909, p. 171.

Rodwell, 1994, p. 186.

'Now of fine clay have We created man: Then We placed him, a moist germ, in a safe abode; then made We the moist germ a clot of blood: then made the clotted blood into a piece of flesh; then made the piece of flesh into bones: and We clothed the bones with flesh: *then brought forth man of yet another make.*

'Blessed, therefore, be God–the most excellent of makers' (23:12-14).

Reconstruction, p. 83

Now of fine clay have we created man:
Then we placed him, a moist germ,[6] in a safe abode;
Then made we the moist germ a clot of blood: then made the clotted blood into a piece of flesh; then made the piece of flesh into bones: and we clothed the bones with flesh: then brought forth man of yet another make[7]-Blessed therefore be God, the most excellent of Makers3-

Rodwell, 1909, p. 145.

Rodwell, 1994, p. 224.

'And say: The truth is from your Lord: Let him, then, who will believe: and let him who will, be an unbeliever' (18: 29).

Reconstruction, p. 87

And say: the truth is from your Lord: let him then who will, believe; and let him who will, be an infidel.

Rodwell, p. 183.

Rodwell, P. 191.

If ye do well to your own behoof will ye do well: and if ye do evil against yourselves will ye do it' (17: 7).

Reconstruction, p. 87

We said, "If ye do well, to your own behoof will ye do well:
And if ye do evil, against yourselves will ye do it.

Rodwell, 1909, p. 165.

Rodwell, 1994, p. 181.

'When death overtaketh one of them, he saith, "Lord! Send me back again, that I may do the good that! I have left undone!" By no means. These are the very words which he shall speak. But behind them is a barrier (*Barzakh*), *until the day when they shall be raised again'* (23: 99-100).

When death overtaketh one of the wicked, he saith, "Lord,

Reconstruction p. 93

That I may do the good which I have left undone."2 "By no means."
These are the very words which he shall speak:
But behind them shall be a barrier, until the day when they shall be raised again.

Rodwell, 1909, p. 149-150.
Rodwell, 1994, p.228-29.

'And by the moon when at her full, that from state to state shall ye be surely carried onward' (84: 18-19).

Reconstruction, p. 93

And by the moon when at her full,
That from state to state shall ye be surely carried onward.

Rodwell, 1909, p.47.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 43.

'The germs of life-Is it ye who create them Or are We their Creator? It is We Who have decreed that death should be among you; yet We are not thereby hindered from replacing you with others, your likes, or from creating you again in forms which ye know not!' (56: 58-61).

Reconstruction, p. 93

The germs of life
Is it ye who create them? Or are we their creator?
It is we who have decreed that death should be among you;
Yet are we not *thereby* hindered7 from replacing you with others, your likes, or from producing you again in a form which ye know not!

Rodwell, 1909, p. 67.
Rodwell, 1994, p.

'Verily there is none in the heavens and in the earth but shall approach the God of Mercy as a servant. *He hath taken note of* them and numbered them with exact numbering: *and each of them shall come to Him on the Day of Resurrection as a single individual'* (19 :93-95)52

Reconstruction, p. 93

Verily there is none in the Heavens and in the Earth but shall approach the God of Mercy as a servant. He hath taken note of them, and numbered them with *exact* numbering:
And each of them shall come to Him, on the day of Resurrection, singly:

Rodwell, 1909, p. 124.
Rodwell, 1'994, p. 212.

And every man's fate' have We fastened about his neck: and on the Day of Resurrection will We bring forthwith to him a book which shall be proffered to him wide open: "Read thy book: there needeth none but thyself to make out an account against thee this day"' (17: 13-14).

Reconstruction, p. 93

And every man's fate1 have we fastened about his neck:
And on the day of resurrection will we bring forth to him a book which shall be proffered to him wide open:
-"Read thy Book:[8] there needeth none but thyself to make out an account against thee this day."

Rodwell, 1909, p. 166.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 181.

However, according to the teaching of the Qur'an the ego's re-emergence brings him a 'sharp sight' (50:22) whereby he clearly sees his self-built 'fate fastened round his neck.'65 Heaven and Hell are states, not localities. Their descriptions in the Qur'an are visual representations[9] of an inner fact, i.e. character. Hell, in the word of the Qur'an, is 'God's kindled fire which mounts above the hearts'[10]- the painful realization of one's failure as a man. Heaven is the joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration. There is no such thing as eternal damnation in Islam. The word 'eternity' used in certain verses, relating to Hell, is explained by the Qur'an itself to mean only a period of time (78:23). Time cannot be wholly irrelevant to the development of personality. Character tends to become permanent; its reshaping must require time. Hell, therefore, as conceived by the Qur'an, is not a pit of everlasting torture[11] inflicted by a revengeful God; it is a corrective experience[12] which may make a hardened ego once more sensitive to the living breeze of Divine Grace. Nor is Heaven a holiday. Life is one and continuous. Man marches always onward to receive ever fresh illuminations from an Infinite Reality which 'every moment appears in a new glory'.[13] And the recipient of Divine illumination is not merely a passive recipient. Every act of a free ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding.

'And there shall be a blast on the trumpet, and all who are in the heavens and all who are in the earth shall faint away, *save those in whose case God wills other-wise*' (39:68)

Reconstruction, p. 94

And there shall be a blast on the trumpet, and all who are in the Heavens and all who are in the Earth shall expire, save those whom God shall vouchsafe to *live*.

Rodwell, 1909, p. 260.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 312.

'His eye turned not aside, nor did it wander' (53: 17).

Reconstruction, p. 94

His eye turned not aside, nor did it wander:

Rodwell, 1909, p. 70.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 358.

'Thinketh man that he shall be left as a thing of no used Was he not a mere embryo?

'Then he became thick blood of which God formed him and fashioned him; and made him twain, male and female. Is not God powerful enough to quicken the dead? (75: 36-40).

Reconstruction, p. 94-95.

Thinketh man that he shall be left supreme?
Was he not a mere embryo?5
Then he became thick blood of which God formed him and fashioned him;
And made him twain, male and female.
Is not He powerful enough to quicken the dead?

Rodwell, 1909, p. 56-57
Rodwell, 1994, p. 401.

'By the soul and He Who hath balanced it, and hath shown to it the ways of wickedness and piety, blessed is he who hath *made it grow* and undone is he who hath *corrupted* it' (91: 7-10).

Reconstruction, p. 95.

By a Soul and Him who balanced it,
And breathed into it its wickedness and its piety,
Blessed now is he who hath kept it pure,
And undone is he who hath corrupted it!

Rodwell, 1909, p. 38.
Rodwell, 1994, p.

'Blessed be He is Whose hand is the Kingdom! And over all things is He potent, *who hath created death and life to test which of you is the best in point of deed; and He is the Mighty and Forgiving'* (67: 1-2).

Blessed be He in whose hand is the KINGDOM! And over all things is He potent:
Who hath created death and life to prove which of you will be most righteous in deed; and He is the Mighty, the Forgiving!

Rodwell, 1909, p. 142.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 381.

'Man saith: "What! After I am dead, shall I in the end be brought forth alive?" *Doth not man bear in mind that We made him at first when he was nought?'* (19: 66-67).

Reconstruction, p. 96

Man saith: "What! After I am dead, shall I in the end be brought forth alive?"
Doth not man bear in mind that we made him at first, when he was nought?

Rodwell, 1909, p. 122.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 201.

'It is We Who have decreed that death should be among you.

Reconstruction, p. 96

Yet we are not thereby hindered from replacing you with others your likes, or from producing you in a form which ye know! Ye have known the first creation: will you not reflect?' (56: 60-62).

It is we who have decreed that death should be among you;
Yet are we not *thereby* hindered from replacing you with others, your likes, or from producing you again in a form which ye know not!
Ye have known the first creation: will ye not then reflect?

Rodwell, 1909, p. 67.
Rodwell, 1994, 366.

What, when dead and turned to dust, shall we rise again?
Remote is such a return. Now know
We what the Earth consumeth of them and with Us is a book in which account is kept' (50: 3-4).

Reconstruction, p. 97

What! When dead and turned to dust shall we ....? Far off is such a return as this?'
Now know we what the earth consumeth of them, and with us is a
'O company of djinn and men, if
you can overpass the bounds of the heaven and the earth, then overpass them. But by power alone shall ye overpass them' (55:33).

Reconstruction, p. 105.

O company of djinn and men, if ye can overpass the bounds of the Heavens and the Earth, then over pass them. But by our leave only shall ye overpass them.

Rodwell, 1994, p. 363.

Dost thou not see that God knoweth all that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth?
Three persons speak not privately together

Reconstruction, p. 107-8.

Dost thou not see that God knoweth all that is in the Heavens and all that is in the Earth? Three persons speak not privately together, but He is their fourth; nor five, but He is their sixth; nor fewer nor more, but wherever they be He is with them.

Rodwell, 1909, p. 451.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 31.

'Ye shall not be employed in affairs, nor shall ye read a text out of the Qur'an nor shall ye do any work, but We will be witness over you when you are engaged therein; and the weight of an atom on earth or in heaven escapeth not thy Lord; nor is there aught that is less than this or greater, but it is in the Perspicuous Book' (10: 61)

Reconstruction, p. 108.

Thou shalt not be employed in affairs, nor shalt thou read a text out of the Koran, nor shall ye work any work, but we will be witnesses over

you when ye are engaged therein; and the weight of an atom on earth or in heaven escapeth not thy Lord; nor is there aught that is less than this or greater, but it is in the Perspicuous Book'

Rodwell, 1909, p. 280.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 136.

'We created man, and We know what his soul whispereth to him, and We are closer to him than his neck-vein. (50:16)

Reconstruction, p. 108.

We created man: and we know what his soul whispereth to him, and we are closer to him than his neck-vein.

Rodwell, 1909, p. 92.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 351.

'Of old did We send Moses with Our signs, and said to him: "Bring forth thy people from the darkness into the light, *and remind them of the days of God*." Verily, in this are signs for every patient, grateful person'

Reconstruction, p. 110.

'Of old did we send Moses with our signs: *and said to him*, "Bring forth thy people from the darkness into the light, and remind them of the days of God," Verily, in this are signs for every patient, grateful person:

Rodwell, 1909, p. 226.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 162.

'And among those whom We had created are a people who guide others with truth, and in accordance therewith act *justly. But as for those who treat Our signs as lies, We gradually bring them down by means of which they know not; and though I lengthen their days, verily, My stratagem is effectual' (7: 181-83).*

180 And among those whom we have created are a people who guide others with truth, and in accordance therewith act justly.

But as for those who treat our signs as lies, we will gradually bring them down by means of which they know not:

And though I lengthen their days, verily, my stratagem shall prove effectual.

'Already, before your time, have *precedents* been made. *Traverse the earth then, and see what hath been the end of those who falsify the signs of God!'*

Already, before your time, have examples been made! Traverse the earth, then, and see what been the end of these who treat *prophets* as liar.

Rodwell, p. 512 Edition Mocee Lxi
Rodwell, 1994, p. 43.

'If a wound hath befallen you, a wound like it hath already befallen others; We alternate the days of successes and reverses among peoples' (3: 140).
'Every nation hath its fixed period' (7: 34).

Reconstruction, p. 18.

If a wound hath befallen you, a wound like it hath already befallen others: we alternate these days *of successes and reverses* among men,

Rodwell, 1909, p. 399.
Rodwell, 1994 p. 43.

'The Arabs of the desert are most stout in unbelief and dissimulation; and likelier it is that they should be unaware of the laws which God hath sent down to His Apostle; and God is Knowing, Wise.
'Of the Arabs of the desert there are some who reckon what they expend in the cause of God as tribute, and wait for some change of fortune to befall you: a change for evil shall befall them! God is the Hearer, the Knower' (9: 97-98).

Reconstruction, p. 111.

The Arabs of the desert are most stout in unbelief and dissimulation; and likelier it is that they shoud be unaware of the laws which God hath sent down to His Apostle: and God is Knowing, Wise.
Of the Arabs of the desert there are some who reckon what they expend *in the cause of God* as tribute, and wait for some change of fortune to befall you: a change for evil shall befall them! God is the Hearer, the Knower.

Rodwell, 1909, p. 481.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 127.

'O believers! If any bad man comes to you with a report, clear it up at once' (49: 6).

Reconstruction, p. 111.

O Believers! If any bad man1 come to you with news, clear it up at once,

Rodwell, 1909, p. 469.
Rodwell, 1994, p. 348.

And for women are rights over men similar to those for men over women (2: 228)

Reconstruction, p. 135.

And it is for the women to act as they (the husbands) act by them, in all fairness, but the men are a step above them.

Rodwell, 1994, p. 24.

In view of somewhat vague translation the following translation from M.M. Picthall is reproduced:

And they (women) have rights similar to those (of men) over in kindness, and men are a degree above them.(The meaning of the Glorious Koran, Mentor Books, U.S.A.

Seventh Printing, 1959, p. 53.

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[11] *The Koran: Interpreted* by A.J. Arberry London: George Allen & Union Limited Second Impression 1963, p. 17.

[12] *The Quran: A New Interpretation, Textual Exegesis* by Muhammad Baqir Behbudi, English Translation by Colin Turner, Curzon Press, Surrey U.K First Published 1997, p.XII.

[13] *The Koran*, translated by J.M. Rodwell Foreward and Introduction by Alam Jones, published by Everyman Library London. 1994, p.IX-X.

A STUDY OF IQBAL'S POETICAL PRAYERS

Abdur Rehman Saleh

The great artists and poets have usually expressed their free and spontaneous religious feelings in the form of poetry. There are many prayers which are written as poems. This does not show that all poetry is prayer or that all prayers are poetry, but simply that they share many common aspects. Wordsworth defines poetry as "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling." This statement seems to include many personal prayers of great artists and poets. Their prayers are "... a simple expression of whatever touches the heart, of need and longing, of moral struggle and artistic effort ... In impulsive, unrestricted words the great geniuses pour out their hearts before God." Iqbal, as one of the great poets of his time, also expressed his strong religious feelings in the form of poetical prayers. Perhaps, he is the only religious poet in twentieth century, who successfully unify his life with his prayer and poetry. He writes:

Every moment is my prayer
That I may yet further fare,
Till my folly's governor
Says there no desert more.

We select and analyze some of his poetical prayers in order to show clearly the place and function of prayer in the poems of Iqbal.

Iqbal's poetical masterpiece work is *Jāvid Nāmah.* The book begins with the *Poet's Prayer.* Iqbal here prays to God to be freed from the chain of serial time and to become eternal.

Thou gavest me reason, give me madness too,
Show me the way to inward ecstasy.
I am a momentary thing : make me eternal,
Out of earthiness make me celestial.

In another poem, he begs that he may be emancipated from the consciousness of finite time;

O Saki! arise and pour wine into the cup,

Clear the vexation of time from my heart!

According to Iqbal, prayer is not only a physical activity, but also spiritual. Body and spirit walk side by side in prayer. He articulates the meaning of prayer as follows;

The call to prayer signalizes the two kinds of birth,
The first uttered by the lips, the second by the very soul.

The Secrets of the Self ends with "An Invocation" in which Iqbal prays for "the sleepless eye and the passionate heart," and "the strong faith of Abraham." He also prays for "one old comrade" who could be "the mirror of mine, all-burning Love."

Give us the sleepless eye and the passionate heart,
Give us again the nature of quick-silver!
Show unto us one of thy manifest signs,
That the necks of our enemies may be bowed!
...
We are travellers; give us resignation as our goal!
Give us the strong faith of Abraham!
Make us know the meaning of ' There is no God.'
Make us acquainted with the mystery of 'except Allah!'
I who burn like a candle for the sake of others
Teach myself to weep like that candle.
O God! A tear that is heart-enkindling,
Passionful, wrong forth by pain, peace-consuming.
...
Or give me one old comrade
To be the mirror of mine all mine all -burning love!
...
In the midst of a company I am alone.
I beg of Thy grace a sympathising friend,
And adept in the mysteries of my nature,
A friend endowed with madness and wisdom,
One that knoweth not phantom of vain things,
...

In another poem, Iqbal urges the Muslim to work hard. He reminds them not to seek their daily bread from the charity of other people, even though they may be indigent and miserable. He encourages the Muslim to pray to God to give them courage to face the blows of fortune. God loves anybody who earns his living by his effort, not by destitution. Iqbal is aware of the fact that asking or begging, dependence on others weakens the Self. The individual and society should have self-reliance and self-confidence.

By asking, poverty is made more abject;
By begging, the beggar is made poorer,
Asking disintegrates the Self,

And deprives of illumination of the Sinai-bush of the self.

...

Seek not thy daily bread from the bounty of another,
Seek not water from the fountain of the sun,

...

Pray God for courage ! Wrestle with Fortune!
Do not sully the honour of the pure religion!
He who swept the rubbish of idols out of the Ka'ba
Said that God loves a man that earns his living.
Woe to him that accepts bounty from another's table.
And lets his neck be bent with benefits!
He hath consumed himself with the lightning of the favours bestowed on him,
He hath sold his honour for a paltry coin,
Happy the man who is thirsting in the sun.
Does not crave of Khizr a cup of water
His brow is not moist with the shame of beggary;
He is a man still, not a piece of clay.
That noble youth walks under heaven
With his head erect like the pine.
Are his hands empty? The more is he master of himself.
Do his fortunes languish? The more alert is he.

Creativity is the key concept of Iqbal's thought. According to him, a creative life is worth living, because life is about to create and act. Iqbal says that "In action lies the secret of life, Longing for creation is the law of life." Muslims are no longer creative in fields of life, such as philosophy, science, art, social and universal matters; therefore, they are not considered the creator of history and life in the modern world. This deadly state is entirely against the dynamic spirit if Islam from Iqbalian perspective. Carlyle argues that "The essence of originality is not novelty but sincerity." This statement expresses an important attitude of Muslims towards life, because they face the dilemma being sincere in their religion and being creative in their life. Iqbal rejects such a fruitless attitude and encourages Muslims to be creative without any limitation:

Cut your path with an axe of your own
It is a sin to tread the beaten paths of others!
If you achieve something unique and original,
Even a sin becomes a virtue!

The source of creativity is the human heart, which is the locus of human being. *Heart* is directly related to *life*, since there is no reality behind life without function of heart. To Iqbal, the state of heart makes man as *human* and his life as *human life*. Iqbal prays for an active, free, sentimental, and longing heart, which is indispensable for a constructive and creative life:

To the Muslim's heart, give O Lord that inspiration,
That warms up heart, to soul it gives enervation.
To Fārān Vale's each atom, brighten once more,
Give fire to the faith, to desire animation.
To one in fun lacking, give eyes all piercing,
Whatever I beheld, to others make revelation.
Expanse of a desert, be for a city-inured,
To the deer deviated, take to destination.
To desolate heart give, Resurrection's stirring,
To vacant camel-saddle, give Leila's collocation.
In darkness of this age, to every aching heart,
To love give that spot, eclipsing moon's lumination.
Give self-respect of shore, freedom of the river,
Like pleiades be the objects, in their exaltation.
Let Love be undefiled, daring be the Truth.
Breast be lit with light, flask-like hearts' saturation.
Give a heart full of feeling, for those who are feeling,
For tumult of this day, give future's deliberation.
Of this deserted mead, I am nightingale moaning.
For effectiveness O God! This is supplication.

Iqbal is aware that modern man forgets what it means being human and Muslims forget what it means being Muslim. According to Iqbal, neither being human nor being Muslim is a finished and fixed business. Human beings and Muslims must always ask the following questions: What do they mean when they say I am a human? What do they mean when they say I am a Muslim? Being human and being Muslim is a dynamic process of self-realization. This process runs from *being* Human and Muslim to *becoming* human and Muslim. Iqbal prays for a dynamic self-realization: "In every mote's heart is this prayer: 'O Seer, see me, see me, And make me be."

Human being must be human, which is the ultimate aim of human life. The process of being human is a fruit of the realization of individual. The real human being has a real individual, a unique ego in Iqbalian thought. The strife for a unique ego starts from the earliest period of life, not later period. Iqbal considers every child as a unique and important ego and the period of childhood as the formative period of Ego. Children are not little and insignificant creatures, but they are the most important and the highest existents in our lives. Iqbal locates children at the centre of life, not at the periphery. He writes a poem, which is called *Child's Prayer*. In this prayer, Iqbal asks for the highest aims of life, such as true, creative, passionate, and meaningful life as a child:

To a solemn prayer, my wish does prod,
Like a candle be, my life O God!
Lifted through my being, be the pall of gloom,

Places I sparkle, with lustre in its bloom.
All over my land, such a grace I shower,
As in an orchard, radiant is a flower.
Very like a moth, be my life O Lord!
Service my mission, to the down-trodden,
Succour my passion, to the crest-fallen.
Save me O God! from every form of evil,
Lead me to the right path, away from the devil.

Human being strives for a true knowledge of God, universe, and man. All human activities, such as philosophy, science, religion, art and so on, are productions of this desire. Although man has achieved to produce great philosophical theories, scientific discoveries, artistic works, he fails to unify these different provinces of human knowledge. As a result of this failure, scientific, philosophical, and artistic achievements do not bring happiness and welfare to human life, but disasters, fiascos, and disappointments. In Iqbalian thought, there must be unity in human being and human knowledge. In other words, without unity of heart and head, no branch of human knowledge would provide happiness and joy to human life. Iqbal prays for unity of heart-head and real happiness as its fruit:

I pray thee, ravish not the moon gleam from my night,
O Saqi, thou holdest in thy cup night's full bright orb.
Far distant of the vale of love, and yet sometimes,
Ever that age-long path a solitary sigh will bound;
In strife and constant search loose not thy grasp
Upon the skirt of hope because, sometimes riches
by the way are found.

Noble dying and living is an important theme in the poems of Iqbal. According to him, death is just a stage towards the perfect Ego. There is no conflict between death and life. Although Freud considers the death instinct *(libido moriendi)* as the destructive power, Iqbal presents it as a constructive energy. Invariably, people think that the time of death is the most dreadful experience in the life of man, but the expression of Iqbal persuades us to consider the time of death as if it were the first wedding night. The harmony between life and death is one of the most important ideas of Iqbal. He regards death as a passage from one room to another, *mortem suscepit cantando.* He welcomes death in the following poem:

The Mu'min prays to God for the death
This is followed by resurrection!
That other death, the goal of the eager quest,
The last affirmation of God's greatness on the battle-field!
The wars of the kings are but loot and destruction
The war of the Mu'min is the tradition of the Prophet!
What is the Mu'min's war? A migration towards the Beloved!

A withdrawal from the world to seek refuge with the Beloved!

There is a deep enthusiasm in the depths of the soul of Iqbal for eternal life. He is unhappy, because of the limitations of this life. There is a strong voice of protest against finite life in the poems of Iqbal. According to him, a real homeland for his soul is its immortal dwelling place. Regarding this desire, he presents his complaint as a driving motive in the following poem, which is entitled *'Prayer'*:

O you that from nature's tavern filled my cup of life
With fire of my soul, a flask to declaim for me
Let heat of my plaint become incentive for my zest
To convert my pinch of dust into fiery flame for me
From my dust when die I must, raise a rose in bloom
To represent in chequered spot, desert aflame for me.

One of the most important poetical prayers of Iqbal is "The Prayer of Ṭāriq." Ṭāriq bin Ziyād, the Muslim general, was the conqueror of Spain and one of the most remarkable heroes in Muslim history. When his troops were at war with the Spaniards, who were superior to them in numbers and equipment, he prayed to God for help at that fateful hour. Nadwi argues that "He was following the example of the Prophet who had led the first Muslim army and, after marshalling his troops on the battle-field of Badr, withdrawn to a quiet corner, placed his forehead on the ground and cried out for divine help. ' O God!' he had said. 'If these men are killed today Thou shalt not be worshipped in the world.' Iqbal wrote this remarkable prayer of Ṭāriq as a poem.

...
The Ghazis, these mysterious bondsmen of Thine,
To whom Thou hast granted zest for Divinity.
Deserts and oceans fold up at their kick,
And mountains shrink into mustard seeds.
Indifferent to the riches of the world it makes,
What a curious thing is the joy of love?
Martyrdom is the desired end of the Mu'min,
Not spoils of war, kingdom and rule!
For long has tulip in the garden been waiting,
It needs a robe dipped in Arab blood.
...
Thou made the desert-dwellers absolutely unique,
In thought, in perception, in the morning, Azān;
What, for centuries, life had been seeking,
It found the warmth in the hears of these men;
Death is the opener of the heart's door,
It's not the journey's end in their sight.
Revive, once again, in the heart of the Mu'min,
Lightning that was in the prayer of Leave Not.

Wake up ambition in the breasts, O Lord;
Transform the glance of the Mu'min into a sword.

Fazlur Raḥmān notes that Iqbal is considered by Westerners as a romanticist of the glorified past of Islam. Cragg is one of the Western writers who described Iqbal as a romanticist. In our opinion, this impression is inaccurate. For example, in the example of Ṭāriq bin Ziyād, Iqbal's relationship with him is not merely the historical recall of a hero of the past, but a sense of concrete example, a living inspiration in life and in the lives of all Muslims through all ages. As we have seen, he proclaims a potentially glorious future for Muslims and the supreme value of Islam in their lives.

The modern situation of the Muslim world disturbs Iqbal. He expresses his feelings in his well-known prayer poem *Complaint and Answer.* Iqbal protests the passive and silenced attitude of Muslims about their modern crisis, therefore, he speaks suddenly, loudly and with strong feeling in the presence of God. He exclaims:

Why must I forever suffer loss, oblivious to gain
Why think not upon the morrow, drowned in grief for yesterday?
Fellow-bard, am I a rose, condemned to silence all the way?
No; the burning power of song bids me be bold and not to faint;
Dust be in my mouth, but God-He is the theme of my complaint.
True, we are forever, famous for our habit to submit;
Yet we tell our tale of grief, as by our grief we are constrained.
We are but a muted lyre; yet a lament inhabits it-
If a sigh escapes our lips, no more can sorrow be contained.
God, give ear to the complaint of us, Thy servants tried and true;
Thou art used to songs of praise; now hear a note of protest

After he has mentioned the historical struggles of Muslims for the glory of the name of God, he asks why God shows mercy to non-Muslims. Why has God forgotten the believer who cries day and night that He is the Greatest One, and who has been the torchbearer of Divine Unity for more than 1300 years? Why should the infidels possess castles and houris already here in this world whereas the poor Muslims live only in the hope of paradisal houris and castles?

Yet the charge is laid against us we have played the faithless part;
If disloyal we have proved, hast Thou deserved to win our heart?
Other creeds claim other peoples, and they have their sinners too;
There are lowly men among them, and men drunken with conceit;
Some are sluggards, some neglectful, some are vigilant and true;
Multitudes disdain Thy Name in loathing utter and complete;
But the showers of Thy mercy other thirsting souls assuage,
Only on the hapless Muslims falls the lightning of Thy rage.

...

Into every heart we struck the impress of Thy Unity

And beneath the dagger's lightning preached the Message, Lord, of Thee.
Tell us this, and tell us truly-who uprooted Khyber's gate?
Or who overthrew the city where great Caesar reigned in pride?
Who destroyed the gods that the hands of others laboured to create,
Who the marshalled armies of the unbelievers drove aside?
Who extinguished from the altars of Iran that sacred flame,
Who revived the dimmed remembrance of Yazdan's immortal Name?
Strove there ever other nation in the cause of Thee alone,
Bore there ever other people battle's anguish for Thy sake?
Whose the sword that seized the world, and ruled it as its very own?
Whose the loud Allāhu Akbar that compelled the earth to wake?
Whose the dread that kept the idols cowering and terrified
So that, heads cast down and humbled, 'He is God, the One.' they cried?
...
Who have not the wit or grace of converse in society;
But that infidels should own the houris and the palaces, woe ! (sic.)
While the wretched Muslims must with promises contended be.
Now no more for us Thy favours and Thy old benevolence-
How and where for is thy pristine kindliness departed now?
Why no more are worldly riches among Muslims to be found,
Since Thy power is as of old beyond compute and confined.

Then, Iqbal finds answer for his "Complaint" in his second poem "Answer". This spontaneous protest disturbs angels and stars, and God Himself responds with the reasons for the condition of the Muslims. God replies that Muslims lost the true spirit of worship; the reason for the wealth of the infidels is not their irreligious life, but their faithful work, since it is a necessity of the divine justice. According to God's answer, the fundamental reason for the decadence of the Muslim is the fact that there is neither fire of faith nor Divine love in their hearts; they are heedless of the love of the Prophet; they have transformed their universal Islamic brotherhood and egalitarianism into nationalism and tribalism; therefore, their countries, wealth, and natural resources have been colonized by imperialists.

Listening, the ancient Sphere said, 'Someone seems to be about;'
Cried the Planets, There is someone, in the upper ether pure;'
'Not so lofty,' called the Moon, 'Down on the earth there, not a doubt;'
'No,' the Milky-Way retorted. 'He is hiding here, for sure.'
Guardian Rizwān, he if any, my complaint distinctly heard;
'He is man, just newly driven out of Eden.' he averred.
All the angles in amazement shouted, 'Why, whose voice is it?'
Dwellers in the firmament were baffled by the mystery.

...

Hands are impotent and nerveless, hearts without faith and infidel,
The Community heartbreak to their Prophet and a shame;
Gone on idol-breakers, in their places idol-makers dwell;
Abrahams their fathers were; the children merit Āzar's name.
New and strange the band of drinkers,
and their wine is strange and new,
A new shrine to house their Ka'bah, new and strange the idols too.
Once the tulip of the desert was of elegance the queen,
In the season of the roses reigned her loveliness supreme;
Then in every Muslim eye the burning love of God was seen,
The Beloved you name as fickle was the heart adoring dream.
If you will, with one more constant a new bond of service sign;
The communion of the Prophet in a narrower space confine.
Very heavy on your spirits weights the charge of morning prayer;
Lie far would you be sleeping, than rise up to worship Me.
Ramadan is too oppressive for your tempers free to bear;
Tell me now, do you consider that the law of loyalty? (sic.)
Nations come to birth by Faith; let Faith expire, and nations die;
So when gravitation ceases, the thronged stars asunder fly.

...

Did you say that Muslims must with promises contended be?
That is a complaint unfounded, and by common sense abhorred;
The Creator's law is justice, out of all eternity-
Infidels who live like Muslims surely merit Faith's reward.

...

One and common are the profit and the loss the people bear.
One and common are your Prophet, your religion, and your creed,
One the Holy Sanctuary, one Koran, one God you share;
But to act as one, and Muslims-that would every bound exceed.
Here sectarianism triumphs, class caste there rule the day;
Is it thus you hope to prosper, to regain, your ancient sway?
Who abandoned the example of the Chosen Messenger?
Who took temporal advantage as their touchstone of success?
Who are dazzled by strange customs, alien usages prefer?
For the manners of their fathers who a faint disgust profess?

It can be concluded that Iqbal did not use poetry for the sake of satisfaction of his artistic sentiments. But he expresses his individual and social ideals in his poetical prayers. Transformation of individuals and society and rebuilding a new man and a new society are the main themes of his poetical prayers. Although there can be found some mystical motives in his thought, his poetical prayers present the 'social-prophetic voice,' rather than the 'individual-mystical cry.'

Information & Comments

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Paths to the Heart

Sufism and the Christian East

October18-20, 2001

M. S. Umar

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Despite the long and well-known history of conflict between Christians and Muslims, their mystical traditions, especially in the Christian East and in Sufism, have shared for centuries many of the same spiritual methods and goals. One thinks, for example, of the profound similarities between the practice of the Jesus Prayer among the Hesychast masters of the *Philokalia* and the Sufi practice of *dhikr* or invocation.

These commonalities suggest the possibility for a deeper kind of religious dialogue than is customary in our day, a dialogue which seeks to foster what Frithjof Schuon has called an inward or "esoteric" ecumenism, and which, while respecting the integrity of traditional dogmas and rites, "calls into play the wisdom which can discern the one sole Truth under the veil of different forms".

The purpose of this conference, the first major event of its kind, is to promote precisely this more faithful and more inward kind of ecumenical discussion. Participants in the dialogue, who include some of the world's leading authorities on Christian and Muslim spirituality, have been especially selected with this aim in mind. All of them are keenly interested in the mystical and contemplative dimensions of the world's religions, and all are open to the insights of traditions not their own.

October 18-20, 2001 Internationally recognized spiritual leaders and scholars will gather on the campus of the Univeristy of South Carolina in Columbia, South Carolina for three days of presentation and dialogue concerning the mystical and contemplative dimensions of Eastern Christianity and Islam. Bishop Kallistos Ware, Lecturer in Eastern Orthodox Studies at Oxford University, and Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, University Professor of Islamic Studies at George Washington University, will present the key-note addresses,

The conference is free and open to the public, but persons wishing to attend are asked to please register in advance, and they are strongly

encouraged to make arrangements for their accommodations early. Other speakers include:

William C. Chittick
State University of New York at Stony Brook
"On the Cosmology of Dhikr"
John Chryssavgis
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology
"Paths of Continuity:
Contemporary Witnesses of the Hesychast Experience"
James S. Cutsinger
University of South Carolina
"*Hesychia: An Orthodox Opening to Esoteric Ecumenism*"
Gray Henry
Fons Vitae Press
"Beads of Faith: St. Seraphim of Sarov in Sufic Perspective"
Reza Shah Kazemi
Institute of Isma'ilī Studies
"The Metaphysics of Religious Dialogue: A Qur'anic Perspective"
Andrew Louth
University of Durham
"Evagrios on Prayer"
Huston Smith
Syracuse University (Emeritus)
"The Long Way Home"
For further information and to register on-line:
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Or contact: James S. Cutsinger
Department of Religious Studies
University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208
Telephone: 803/777-2284 Fax: 803/777-0213
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